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Bugle Calls of Liberty

OUR NATIONAL READER OF PATRIOTISM

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GEORGE WASHINGTON

The Father of his country, who led the American Forces in answer to the bugle calls of Revolutionary days.

BUGLE CALLS OF LIBERTY

OUR NATIONAL READER OF PATRIOTISM

BY

GERTRUDE VAN DUYN SOUTHWORTH

AUTHOR OF GREAT CITIES OF THE UNITED STATES, BUILDERS OF OUR COUNTRY, A FIRST BOOK IN AMERICAN HISTORY WITH EUROPEAN BEGINNINGS, ETC., ETC.

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DEDICATED TO THOSE WHO, ON THE FIELD OF BATTLE, BY SERVICE OR BY SACRIFICE, HAVE ANSWERED THE BUGLE CALL OF 1917

PREFACE

THROUGHOUT our history the greatest waves of patriotism have been awakened and inspired by the speeches of those who, thrilled with the spirit of a great cause, have sounded a note which roused the country to action.

It was President Wilson's message to Congress in April, 1917, that sounded the call that roused America to service, sacrifice and battle, just as Patrick Henry's speech in 1775 roused the Virginians.

This book gives some of the great speeches which have either inspired our fore-fathers or have inspired us to use the vast resources of our country for the causes of liberty, freedom, justice or World Democracy. It gives these speeches in the order of their occurrence, and by way of introduction tells enough of the story of the times so that one may understand the full significance of each of these great masterpieces. The historical setting and the speeches together present a very important part of the history of our country in a most impressive way.

The reading of this book cannot fail to make better American citizens — imbued with a still more patriotic spirit and with a much greater reverence for our flag.

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THE AMERICAN'S CREED

"I believe in the United States of America as a government of the people, by the people, for the people; whose just powers are derived from the consent of the governed; a democracy in a republic; a sovereign nation of many sovereign States; a perfect Union, one and inseparable; established upon those principles of freedom, equality, justice, and humanity for which American patriots sacrificed their lives and fortunes.

"I therefore believe it is my duty to my country to love it; to support its Constitution; to obey its laws; to respect its flag, and to defend it against all enemies!"

WILLIAM TYLER PAGE

BUGLE CALLS OF LIBERTY

THE COMING OF LIBERTY

BACK in the savage days of the Stone-age man walked the earth armed with his club. "Might makes right" was the language of the club. "If I crush or conquer you, what is now yours will be mine." And there was no appeal from the rule of the club.

Centuries passed and the club was changed for other weapons, but still might made right; the strong could take from the weak and the world was ruled by force.

Then, from different quarters of the earth, voices were raised — voices that shouted for "justice," "liberty," "freedom." And though these voices were few and spoke a strange tongue, their call rang out like clear cut bugle notes, and as time went on other voices in other lands echoed back their call.

So "justice," "liberty," "freedom," the three great bugle calls of civilization, echoed back and forth across the world and new voices joined with the old until they made a mighty volume

of sound, and the cry of "Might makes right" grew less.

There is no nation of to-day that has not heard within its boundaries the voices of its patriots shouting for justice, freedom and liberty. And there is no people that has not rallied to these bugle calls to push its standards forward.

History is the story of the constant march of the people of the earth towards liberty and self-government. The bugle calls of liberty are the great speeches and writings of patriots urging their fellow men to advance.

The whole history of America is the story of such an advance. The colonists came to America to live and worship as they saw fit, or to escape the unjust laws of their home lands. But even in America the English colonists felt the long arm of English tyranny reach out to restrict their rights. So they arose, burst the bonds which united them to England and formed themselves into an independent nation.

Again, in 1812, England seized our ships and seamen, and the new nation had to fight a second time to win the freedom of the seas.

The holding of human beings as slaves brought about another war — a war among ourselves, a war of brother against brother, and for that reason the saddest in our history. But the end of the Civil War saw Americans, north and south,

lined up behind the established principle that "All men are created free and equal."

Three wars were needed to win our independence on land and sea and to free all men within our states. We have paid a heavy price but that is nothing compared with the treasure won.

Years later, while rejoicing in the proud possession of our liberty and freedom, we heard once more, the old-time cry of "Might makes right." Spain, like the savage with his club was beating little Cuba to the earth, and her struggles were in vain.

So, once again America took up arms, this time to drive out Spain and give to Cuba that freedom and liberty which we had learned to prize.

But the savage spirit in man dies hard, and early in the twentieth century it arose again in Germany, and tried to conquer the other nations of the earth. At once on every side the bugle calls of justice, liberty and freedom burst upon the air, and nation after nation sent its army to put down the tyrant. England, France, Russia, Italy and America united in a mighty effort to stamp out forever the rule of "might makes right."

Such is the part America has played in the liberty of the world. Some of the great bugle calls that have roused her men to action are here offered to the boys and girls of America.

TRUE PATRIOTISM

BREATHES there the man with soul so dead,
Who never to himself hath said,
"This is my own, my native land!"
Whose heart hath ne'er within him burned,
As home his footsteps he hath turned
From wandering on a foreign strand?
If such there breathes, go, mark him well;
For him no minstrel raptures swell.
High though his titles, proud his name,
Boundless his wealth as wish can claim,
Despite those titles, power and pelf,
The wretch, concentered all in self,
Living, shall forfeit fair renown,
And, doubly dying, shall go down
To the vile dust from which he sprung,
Unwept, unhonored, and unsung.

SIR WALTER SCOTT

HOW PATRICK HENRY SOUNDED THE CALL FROM VIRGINIA

In George Washington's own state of Virginia the first of the great American buglers of liberty made himself heard. It was in the city of Richmond and Patrick Henry was speaking to the Virginia Assembly. The colonists had stood all the oppression they could from England's King, and the Assembly faced the serious question: What course shall we now follow?

Some of the members still hoped that England could be induced to repeal her unjust laws, and they wanted the door between them and the mother country left half open so that if things did look better they might still be counted good Englishmen. But Patrick Henry thought differently. He believed that Virginia should no longer submit to British tyranny. Virginia, he insisted, must go bravely out and slam the door behind her, and he made a motion that the colony should raise an army of her own and should put herself "in a posture of defense."

This was going too far for the conservative members. They were not ready for such extreme measures. They needed to be roused, to be led to see that love of liberty must come ahead of love of England. So it remained for Patrick Henry to sound the call, and springing to his feet he made a wonderful speech that thrilled his hearers. When he had finished, the resolutions which he had proposed were carried unanimously.

One who was there says, "Henry rose with an unearthly fire burning in his eyes. The tendons of his neck stood out white and rigid like whipcords. His voice rose louder

and louder, until the walls of the building and all within them seemed to shake and rock. Finally his pale face and glaring eye became terrible to look upon. His last exclamation, 'Give me liberty or give me death!' was like the shout of a leader which turns the rout of battle."

GIVE ME LIBERTY OR GIVE ME DEATH

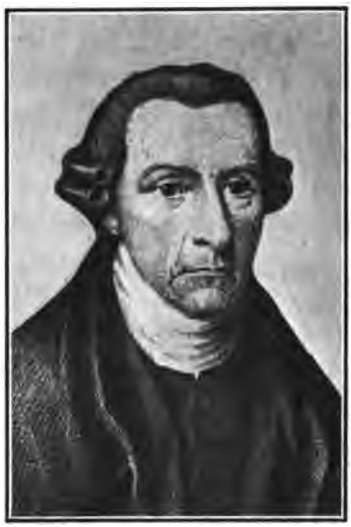
(Delivered by PATRICK HENRY at Richmond, in the Virginia Assembly, on a Resolution to Put the Commonwealth in a State of Defense, March 23, 1775.)

MR. PRESIDENT:

No man thinks more highly than I do of the patriotism, as well as abilities, of the very worthy gentlemen who have just addressed the house. But different men often see the same subject in different lights; and, therefore, I hope it will not be thought disrespectful to those gentlemen, if, entertaining as I do opinions of a character very opposite to theirs, I shall speak forth my sentiments freely and without reserve. This is no time for ceremony. The question before the house is one of awful moment to this country. For my own part, I consider it as nothing less than a question of freedom or slavery; and in proportion to the magnitude of the subject ought to be the freedom of the debate. It is only in

this way that we can hope to arrive at truth, and fulfill the great responsibility which we hold to God and our country.

Should I keep back my opinions at such a time, through fear of giving offense, I should consider myself as guilty of treason towards my country, and of an act of disloyalty toward the Majesty of Heaven, which I revere above all earthly kings.



PATRICK HENRY

Mr. President, it is natural to man to indulge in the illusions of hope. We are apt to shut our eyes against a painful truth, and listen to the song of that siren, till she transforms us into beasts. Is this the part of wise men, engaged in a great and arduous struggle for liberty? Are we disposed to be of the number of those, who, having eyes, see not, and having ears, hear not, the things which so nearly concern their temporal salvation? For my part, whatever anguish of spirit it may cost, I am willing to know the whole truth; to know the worst, and to provide for it.

I have but one lamp by which my feet are guided, and that is the lamp of experience. I know of no way of judging of the future but by the past. And judging by the past, I wish to know what there has been in the conduct of the British ministry for the last ten years to justify those hopes with which gentlemen have been pleased to solace themselves and the house. Is it that insidious smile with which our petition has been lately received? Trust it not, sir; it will prove a snare to your feet.

Suffer not yourselves to be betrayed with a kiss. Ask yourselves how this gracious reception of our petition comports with those warlike preparations which cover our waters and darken our land. Are fleets and armies necessary to a work of love and reconciliation? Have we shown ourselves so unwilling to be reconciled, that force must be called in to win back our love? Let us not deceive ourselves, sir. These are the implements of war and subjugation; the last arguments to which kings resort.

I ask gentlemen, sir, What means this martial array, if its purpose be not to force us to submission? Can gentlemen assign any other possible motive for it? Has Great Britain any enemy, in this quarter of the world, to call for all this accumulation of navies and armies? No, sir, she has none. They are meant for us: they can

be meant for no other. They are sent over to bind and rivet upon us those chains which the British ministry have been so long forging.

And what have we to oppose to them? Shall we try argument? Sir, we have been trying that for the last ten years. Have we anything new to offer upon the subject? Nothing. We have held the subject up in every light of which it is capable; but it has been all in vain. Shall we resort to entreaty and humble supplication? What terms shall we find, which have not been already exhausted?

Let us not, I beseech you, sir, deceive ourselves longer. Sir, we have done everything that could be done, to avert the storm which is now coming on. We have petitioned; we have remonstrated; we have supplicated; we have prostrated ourselves before the throne, and have implored its interposition to arrest the tyrannical hands of the ministry and Parliament.

Our petitions have been slighted; our remonstrances have produced additional violence and insult; our supplications have been disregarded; and we have been spurned, with contempt, from the foot of the throne! In vain, after these things, may we indulge the fond hope of peace and reconciliation. There is no longer any room for hope.

If we wish to be free — if we mean to preserve

inviolate those inestimable privileges for which we have been so long contending — if we mean not basely to abandon the noble struggle in which we have been so long engaged, and which we have pledged ourselves never to abandon, until the glorious object of our contest shall be obtained — we must fight! I repeat it, sir, we must fight! An appeal to arms and to the God of Hosts is all that is left us!

They tell us, sir, that we are weak; unable to cope with so formidable an adversary. But when shall we be stronger? Will it be the next week, or the next year? Will it be when we are totally disarmed, and when a British guard shall be stationed in every house? Shall we gather strength by irresolution and inaction? Shall we acquire the means of effectual resistance by lying supinely on our backs and hugging the delusive phantom of hope, until our enemies shall have bound us hand and foot?

Sir, we are not weak, if we make a proper use of those means which the God of nature hath placed in our power. Three millions of people, armed in the holy cause of liberty, and in such a country as that which we possess, are invincible by any force which our enemy can send against us.

Besides, sir, we shall not fight our battles alone. There is a just God who presides over the desti-

nies of nations, and who will raise up friends to fight our battles for us. The battle, sir, is not to the strong alone; it is to the vigilant, the active, the brave.

Besides, sir, we have no election. If we were base enough to desire it, it is now too late to retire from the contest. There is no retreat but in submission and slavery! Our chains are forged! Their clanking may be heard on the plains of Boston! The war is inevitable — and let it come! I repeat it, sir, let it come.

It is in vain, sir, to extenuate the matter. Gentlemen may cry, Peace, Peace — but there is no peace. The war is actually begun! The next gale that sweeps from the north will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms! Our brethren are already in the field! Why stand we here idle? What is it that gentlemen wish? What would they have? Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty or give me death!

LEXINGTON AND CONCORD

OPPRESSED by the action of England's King, Massachusetts, like Virginia, decided to raise an army of her own. "Minute Men" her soldiers were called because they promised to be ready to serve at a minute's notice. Their arms and ammunition were stored in Concord, ready for use.

In Boston were the British troops under General Gage, sent to govern Massachusetts as punishment for what the King called rebellious conduct.

General Gage learned where the colonial arms were stored and planned to seize them. On the way to Concord his men were to capture John Hancock and Samuel Adams, colonial leaders staying in the town of Lexington.

The expedition was to be a secret one, moving under cover of the night. But in some mysterious way Paul Revere of Boston got wind of Gage's plan, and crossing the river he waited, bridle in hand, for a comrade to signal him, from the steeple of the Old North Church, news of the British advance.

No sooner had the lanterns flashed the signal than he sprang to his saddle, and dashing through the country towards Concord, roused all he passed with the cry "To arms! To arms! The regulars are coming!"

The Minute Men needed no second warning and with such spirit did they rally to the call that the British red coats were defeated at Concord Bridge and driven back to Boston.

PAUL REVERE'S RIDE

LISTEN, my children, and you shall hear
Of the midnight ride of Paul Revere,
On the eighteenth of April, in Seventy-five;
Hardly a man is now alive
Who remembers that famous day and year.

He said to his friend: "If the British march
By land or sea from the town to-night,
Hang a lantern aloft in the belfry arch
Of the North Church tower as a signal light, —
One, if by land, and two, if by sea;
And I on the opposite shore will be,
Ready to ride and spread the alarm
Through every Middlesex village and farm,
For the country folk to be up and to arm."

Then he said "Good-night," and with muffled oar
Silently rowed to the Charlestown shore,
Just as the moon rose over the bay,
Where swinging wide at her moorings lay
The Somerset, British man-of-war;
A phantom ship, with each mast and spar
Across the moon like a prison bar,
And a huge black hulk, that was magnified
By its own reflection in the tide.

Meanwhile his friend, through alley and street,
Wanders and watches with eager ears,
Till in the silence around him he hears
The muster of men at the barrack-door,
The sound of arms, and the tramp of feet,
And the measured tread of the grenadiers
Marching down to their boats on the shore.

Then he climbed the tower of the Old North Church,
By the wooden stairs, with stealthy tread,
To the belfry-chamber overhead,
And startled the pigeons from their perch
On the sombre rafters, that round him made
Masses and moving shapes of shade, —
By the trembling ladder, steep and tall,
To the highest window in the wall,
Where he paused to listen and look down
A moment on the roofs of the town,
And the moonlight flowing over all.

Beneath, in the churchyard lay the dead,
In their night-encampment on the hill,
Wrapped in silence so deep and still
That he could hear, like a sentinel's tread,
The watchful night-wind, as it went
Creeping along from tent to tent,
And seeming to whisper, "All is well!"
A moment only he feels the spell

Of the place and the hour, and the secret dread
Of the lonely belfry and the dead;

THE OLD NORTH CHURCH

For suddenly all his thoughts are bent
On a shadowy something far away,
Where the river widens to meet the bay, —

A line of black that bends and floats
On the rising tide like a bridge of boats.

Meanwhile, impatient to mount and ride,
Booted and spurred, with a heavy stride
On the opposite shore walked Paul Revere.
Now he patted his horse's side,
Now gazed at the landscape far and near,
Then, impetuous, stamped the earth,
And turned and tightened his saddle-girth;
But mostly he watched with eager search
The belfry-tower of the Old North Church,
As it rose above the graves on the hill,
Lonely and spectral and sombre and still.
And lo! as he looks, on the belfry's height
A glimmer, and then a gleam of light!
He springs to the saddle, the bridle he turns,
But lingers and gazes, till full on his sight
A second lamp in the belfry burns.

A hurry of hoofs in a village street,
A shape in the moonlight, a bulk in the dark,
And beneath, from the pebbles, in passing, a spark
Struck out by a steed flying fearless and fleet;
That was all! And yet, through the gloom and
the light
The fate of a nation was riding that night;
And the spark struck out by that steed in his flight
Kindled the land into flame with its heat.

He has left the village and mounted the steep,
And beneath him, tranquil and broad and deep,
Is the Mystic, meeting the ocean tides;

PAUL REVERE'S HOUSE

And under the alders that skirt its edge,
Now soft on the sand, now loud on the ledge,
Is heard the tramp of his steed as he rides.
It was twelve by the village clock
When he crossed the bridge into Medford town.
He heard the crowing of the cock,
And the barking of the farmer's dog,
And felt the damp of the river's fog,
That rises after the sun goes down.

It was one by the village clock
When he galloped into Lexington.
He saw the gilded weather cock
Swim in the moonlight as he passed,
And the meeting-house windows, blank and bare,
Gaze at him with a spectral glare,
As if they already stood aghast
At the bloody work they would look upon.

It was two by the village clock
When he came to the bridge in Concord town,
He heard the bleating of the flock,
And the twitter of birds among the trees,
And felt the breath of the morning breeze
Blowing over the meadows brown.
And one was safe and asleep in his bed
Who at the bridge would be first to fall,
Who that day would be lying dead,
Pierced by a British musket-ball.

You know the rest. In the books you have read,
How the British regulars fired and fled, —
How the farmers gave them ball for ball,
From behind each fence and farmyard wall,
Chasing the red-coats down the lane,
Then crossing the fields to emerge again
Under the trees at the turn of the road,
And only pausing to fire and load.

So through the night rode Paul Revere; —
And so through the night went his cry of alarm
To every Middlesex village and farm, —
A cry of defiance, and not of fear,
A voice in the darkness, a knock at the door,
And a word that shall echo for evermore!
For, borne on the night-wind of the past,
Through all our history to the last,
In the hour of darkness, and peril, and need,
The people will waken and listen to hear
The hurrying hoof-beats of that steed,
And the midnight message of Paul Revere.

HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW

THE CONCORD HYMN

(The Concord Hymn was written by Ralph Waldo Emerson, to be sung at the completion of the Concord Monument, April 19, 1836.)

BY the rude bridge that arched the flood,
Their flag to April's breeze unfurled,
Here once the embattled farmers stood,
And fired the shot heard round the world.

The foe long since in silence slept;
Alike the conqueror silent sleeps;
And Time the ruined bridge has swept
Down the dark stream which seaward creeps.

On this green bank, by this soft stream,
We set to-day a votive stone;
That memory may their deed redeem,
When, like our sires, our sons are gone.

RALPH WALDO EMERSON

Spirit, that made those heroes dare
To die and leave their children free,
Bid Time and Nature gently spare
The shaft we raise to them and Thee.

THE UNITED STATES BECOMES A NATION

WHEN petition after petition, asking England to repeal her unjust laws, had been sent across the water only to be ignored, and when England's King had sent troops to America to put down his rebellious subjects, the colonial leaders felt that dependence on England could no longer be endured. The colonies must throw off England's yoke and be free.

THOMAS JEFFERSON

So, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, Robert R. Livingston and Thomas Jefferson were appointed to draw up a declaration of independence. It was Thomas Jefferson who put into words the convictions and beliefs of the whole committee.

The declaration was submitted to the Continental Congress which met in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, and after much discussion the members on July 4, 1776, voted for its adoption. Then each signed his name below this solemn pledge, "And, for the support of this declaration we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor."

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

ADOPTED BY THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS
July 4, 1776

THE UNANIMOUS DECLARATION OF THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

WHEN in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: —That all men are created equal: that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights: that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed: that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such

form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature — a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected, whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the laws for the naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will

alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harrass our people, and eat out their substance.

INDEPENDENCE HALL

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislature.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us;

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States;

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world;

For imposing taxes on us without our consent;

For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury;

For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offenses;

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies;

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments;

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burned our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely

paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrection amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms. Our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in our attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connec-

tions and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace, friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress, assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these united Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And, for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor.

HOW THE GLAD TIDINGS WERE SPREAD

WHILE the vote on the adoption of the Declaration of Independence was being taken in the State House at Philadelphia, crowds surged about the streets. The suspense was terrible. Would Congress dare declare the colonies free? Would they dare defy the power of England?

The old State House bell was to ring out the news if Congress acted. Already, in the belfry the old bell-ringer waited for the signal. At last it came, and as his grandson bounded up the stairs shouting "Ring! Ring! Ring!" the peals of the bell broke forth spreading the good news far and near. And the shouts from the crowds below told that the joyous sound found echo in the hearts of the people of the new and independent nation.

INDEPENDENCE BELL

THERE was tumult in the city,
In the quaint old Quaker town,
And the streets were rife with people
Pacing restless up and down, —
People gathering at corners,
Where they whispered each to each,
And the sweat stood on their temples
With the earnestness of speech.

As the bleak Atlantic currents
  Lash the wild Newfoundland shore,
So they beat against the State-House,
  So they surged against the door;
And the mingling of their voices
  Made a harmony profound,
Till the quiet street of Chestnut
  Was all turbulent with sound.

"Will they do it?" "Dare they do it?"
  "Who is speaking?" "What's the news?"
"What of Adams?" "What of Sherman?"
  "Oh, God grant they won't refuse!"
"Make some way there!" "Let me nearer!"
  "I am stifling!" "Stifle then!
When a nation's life's at hazard,
  We've no time to think of men!"

So they beat against the portal,
  Man and woman, maid and child;
And the July sun in heaven
  On the scene looked down and smiled:
The same sun that saw the Spartan
  Shed his patriot blood in vain,
Now beheld the soul of freedom,
  All unconquered, rise again.

See! see! The dense crowd quivers
  Through all its lengthy line,

As the boy beside the portal
Looks forth to give the sign!
With his little hands uplifted,
Breezes dallying with his hair,
Hark! with deep, clear intonation,
Breaks his young voice on the air.

THE LIBERTY BELL

Hushed the people's swelling murmur,
List the boy's exultant cry!
"Ring!" he shouts, "Ring! grandpa,
Ring! oh, ring for Liberty!"
Quickly at the given signal
The old bell-man lifts his hand,
Forth he sends the good news, making
Iron music through the land.

How they shouted! What rejoicing!
How the old bell shook the air,
Till the clang of freedom ruffled
The calmly gliding Delaware!
How the bonfires and the torches
Lighted up the night's repose,
And from the flames, like fabled Phoenix,
Our glorious Liberty arose!

That old State-House bell is silent,
Hushed is now its clamorous tongue;
But the spirit it awakened
Still is living — ever young;
And when we greet the smiling sunlight
On the Fourth of each July,
We will ne'er forget the bell-man
Who, betwixt the earth and sky,
Rung out, loudly, "Independence";
Which, please God, shall never die!

AUTHOR UNKNOWN

THE SPEECH THAT JOHN ADAMS SHOULD HAVE MADE

THE great speech of John Adams on the adoption of the Declaration of Independence was not made until after Adams was dead. Daniel Webster made it in a Fourth of July oration in memory of Adams and Jefferson. The speech begins with the ringing words which have inspired patriots ever since: "Sink or swim, live or die, survive or perish, I give my hand and my heart to this vote."

Webster, a greater orator than Adams, though not a greater patriot, recited the speech as having heard it from Adams' lips. But in truth, only the idea and a few scattered sentences had come from Adams. Webster called to life the spirit of the great patriot, and put these noble words in his mouth.

He pictured him standing there in Independence Hall with the great issue before him: Should the American colonists be safe and dependent, or should they risk their necks on the chance of winning freedom for themselves and for the America of the future? And so this speech, imaginary so far as the actual words are concerned, is absolutely true to life as representing Adams and the spirit of Seventy-Six.

DANIEL WEBSTER ON JOHN ADAMS

"Sink or Swim"

Sink or swim, live or die, survive or perish, I give my hand and my heart to this vote. It is true, indeed, that in the beginning we aimed not at independence. But there is a divinity which shapes our ends.

The injustice of England has driven us to arms; and, blinded to her own interest, she has obstinately persisted, till independence is now within our grasp. We have but to reach forth to it, and it is ours.

Why, then, should we defer the Declaration? Is any man so weak as now to hope for a reconciliation with England, which shall leave either safety to the country and its liberties, or safety to his own life and his own honor?

Are not you, sir, who sit in that chair, — is not he, our venerable colleague near you, — are you not both already the proscribed and predestined objects of punishment and of vengeance? Cut off from all hope of royal clemency, what are you, what can you be, while the power of England remains, but outlaws?

If we postpone independence, do we mean to carry on, or to give up, the war? Do we mean

to submit to the measures of Parliament, Boston Port Bill and all? Do we mean to submit, and consent that we ourselves shall be ground to powder, and our country and its rights trodden down in the dust? I know we do not mean to submit. We never shall submit.

Do we intend to violate that most solemn obligation ever entered into by men — that plighting, before God, of our sacred honor to Washington, when, putting him forth to incur the dangers of war, as well as the political hazards of the times, we promised to adhere to him, in every extremity, with our fortunes and our lives? I know there is not a man here who would not rather see a general conflagration sweep over the land, or an earthquake sink it, than one jot or tittle of that plighted faith fall to the ground.

For myself, having twelve months ago in this place moved you that George Washington be appointed commander of the forces, raised or to be raised, for defense of American liberty, may my right hand forget her cunning, and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, if I hesitate or waver in the support I give him.

The war, then, must go on. We must fight it through. And, if the war must go on, why put off longer the Declaration of Independence? That measure will strengthen us. It will give us character abroad. The nations will then treat with us,

which they never can do while we acknowledge ourselves subjects in arms against our sovereign.

Nay, I maintain that England herself will sooner treat for peace with us on the footing of independence, than consent, by repealing her acts, to acknowledge that her whole conduct towards us has been a course of injustice and oppression. Her pride will be less wounded by submitting to that course of things which now predestinates our independence, than by yielding the points in controversy to her rebellious subjects. The former she would regard as the result of fortune; the latter she would feel as her own deep disgrace.

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JOHN ADAMS

Why, then — why, then, sir, do we not, as soon as possible, change this from a civil to a national war? And since we must fight it through, why not put ourselves in a state to enjoy all the benefits of victory, if we gain the victory?

If we fail, it can be no worse for us. But we shall not fail. The cause will raise up armies;

the cause will create navies. The people — the people, if we are true to them, will carry us, and will carry themselves, gloriously through this struggle. I care not how fickle other people have been found. I know the people of these colonies, and I know that resistance to British aggression is deep and settled in their hearts and cannot be eradicated. Every colony, indeed, has expressed its willingness to follow, if we but take the lead.

Sir, the Declaration will inspire the people with increased courage. Instead of a long and bloody war for restoration of privileges, for redress of grievances, for chartered immunities, held under a British king, set before them the glorious object of entire independence, and it will breathe into them anew the breath of life.

Read this Declaration at the head of the army; every sword will be drawn from its scabbard, and the solemn vow uttered to maintain it, or to perish on the bed of honor. Publish it from the pulpit; religion will approve it, and the love of religious liberty will cling round it, resolved to stand with it, or fall with it. Send it to the public halls; proclaim it there; let them hear it, who heard the first roar of the enemy's cannon; let them see it, who saw their brothers and their sons fall on the field of Bunker Hill, and in the streets of Lexington and Concord, and the very walls will cry out in its support.

Sir, I know the uncertainty of human affairs, but I see, I see clearly, through this day's business. You and I, indeed, may rue it. We may not live to the time when this Declaration shall be made good. We may die; die, colonists; die, slaves; die, it may be, ignominiously and on the scaffold. Be it so. Be it so. If it be the pleasure of heaven that my country shall require the poor offering of my life, the victim shall be ready at the appointed hour of sacrifice, come when that hour may. But while I do live, let me have a country, or at least the hope of a country, and that a free country.

But, whatever may be our fate, be assured, be assured, that this Declaration will stand. It may cost treasure, and it may cost blood; but it will stand, and it will richly compensate for both. Through the thick gloom of the present I see the brightness of the future as the sun in heaven. We shall make this a glorious, an immortal day. When we are in our graves, our children will honor it. They will celebrate it with thanksgiving, with festivity, with bonfires, and illuminations. On its annual return they will shed tears, copious, gushing tears, not of subjection and slavery, not of agony and distress, but of exultation, of gratitude, and of joy.

Sir, before God, I believe the hour has come. My judgment approves this measure, and my

whole heart is in it. All that I have, and all that I am, and all that I hope, in this life, I am now ready here to stake upon it; and I leave off as I began, that, live or die, survive or perish, I am for the Declaration. It is my living sentiment, and, by the blessing of God, it shall be my dying sentiment; independence now, and independence forever.

THE FLAG GOES BY

Hats off!
Along the street there comes
A blare of bugles, a ruffle of drums,
A flash of color beneath the sky.
Hats off!
The flag is passing by!

Blue, and crimson, and white it shines,
Over the steel-tipped, ordered lines.
Hats off!
The colors before us fly;
But more than the flag is passing by.

Sea fights and land fights, grim and great,
Fought to make and to save the state;
Weary marches and sinking ships;
Cheers of victory on dying lips;

Days of plenty, and years of peace,
March of a strong land's swift increase;

THE FIRST UNITED STATES FLAG. MADE BY BETSY ROSS

Equal justice, right, and law,
Stately honor and reverend awe;

Sign of a Nation, great and strong,
To ward her people from foreign wrong;
Pride, and glory, and honor, all
Live in the colors to stand or fall.

Hats off!
Along the street there comes
A blare of bugles, a ruffle of drums;
And loyal hearts are beating high.
Hats off!
The flag is passing by!

H. H. BENNETT

THE DRAFTING OF OUR CONSTITUTION

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, printer, writer, inventor and statesman, served his country in more different ways than it would seem possible for any one man to do. But perhaps America owes him no greater debt than for the service he rendered in the dark days when, independence won, the states were struggling for a settled form of government.

WASHINGTON TAKING THE OATH OF OFFICE

The country was in debt, her commerce was almost ruined. The states were jealous of each other and all was in confusion. Some agreement must be reached, or the dearly bought liberty of the new nation would be a mere mockery.

At last a convention of all the states was called to meet in Philadelphia in 1787. Here the existing evils were frankly discussed and out of the discussion came the decision to draw up a new constitution which would determine

the power to be given Congress, and the power to be given each separate state. This constitution set forth laws which from that time on, were to form the basis of government of the United States.

So far, so good. But delegate after delegate raised objections to the proposed laws. At times it looked as if no agreement could be reached. Then Franklin, who was Pennsylvania's representative, argued that while he admitted that the Constitution might be improved in some ways, still he believed it was as good a constitution as was to be had. So well did he make his points, in his simple common sense way, that one by one the delegates came to agree with him and finally the majority signed the Constitution, thus making it possible for their states to adopt.

George Washington was then suggested for the first President of the United States.

FRANKLIN URGES THAT THE CONSTITUTION BE ADOPTED

At the Constitutional Convention, Philadelphia, 1787

I CONFESS that I do not entirely approve of this Constitution at present; but sir, I am not sure I shall never approve it, for, having lived long, I have experienced many instances of being obliged, by better information or fuller consideration, to change opinions even on important subjects, which I once thought right, but found to be otherwise. It is therefore that, the older I grow,

the more apt I am to doubt my own judgment of others.

Most men, indeed, as well as most sects in religion, think themselves in possession of all truth, and that wherever others differ from them, it is so far error. Steele, a Protestant, in a dedication, tells the Pope that the only difference between our two churches in their opinions of the certainty of their doctrine is, the Romish Church is infallible, and the Church of England is never in the wrong.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

But, though many private persons think almost as highly of their own infallibility as of that of their sect, few express it so naturally as a certain French lady, who, in a little dispute with her sister, said: "But I meet with nobody but myself that is always in the right."

In these sentiments, sir, I agree to this Constitution, with all its faults, — if they are such, — because I think a general government necessary for us, and there is no form of government

but what may be a blessing to the people, if well administered; and I believe, further, that this is likely to be well administered for a course of years, and can only end in despotism, as other forms have done before it, when the people shall become so corrupted as to need despotic government, being incapable of any other.

I doubt, too, whether any other convention we can obtain may be able to make a better Constitution; for, when you assemble a number of men, to have the advantage of their joint wisdom, you inevitably assemble with those men all their prejudices, their passions, their errors of opinion, their local interests, and their selfish views. From such an assembly can a perfect production be expected?

It therefore astonishes me, sir, to find this system approaching so near to perfection as it does; and I think it will astonish our enemies, who are waiting with confidence to hear that our counsels are confounded like those of the builders of Babel, and that our States are on the point of separation, only to meet hereafter for the purpose of cutting one another's throats.

Thus I consent, sir, to this Constitution, because I expect no better, and because I am not sure that it is not the best. The opinions I have had of its errors I sacrifice to the public good. I have never whispered a syllable of them abroad.

Within these walls they were born, and here they shall die.

If every one of us, in returning to our constituents, were to report the objections he has had to it, and endeavor to gain partisans in support of them, we might prevent its being generally received, and thereby lose all the salutary effects and great advantages resulting naturally in our favor among foreign nations, as well as among ourselves, from our real or apparent unanimity.

Much of the strength and efficiency of any government, in procuring and securing happiness to the people, depends on opinion, on the general opinion of the goodness of that government, as well as of the wisdom and integrity of its governors. I hope, therefore, for our own sakes, as a part of the people, and for the sake of our posterity, that we shall act heartily and unanimously in recommending this Constitution wherever our influence may extend, and turn our future thoughts and endeavors to the means of having it well administered.

On the whole, sir, I cannot help expressing a wish that every member of the convention who may still have objection to it, would, with me, on this occasion, doubt a little of his own infallibility, and, to make manifest our unanimity, put his name to this instrument.

AMERICA

My country, 'tis of thee,
Sweet Land of Liberty,
Of thee I sing;
Land where my fathers died,
Land of the pilgrims' pride,
From every mountain side
Let Freedom ring.

My native country, thee,
Land of the noble free,
Thy name I love;
I love thy rocks and rills,
Thy woods and templed hills,
My heart with rapture thrills
Like that above.

Let music swell the breeze,
And ring from all the trees
Sweet Freedom's song;
Let mortal tongues awake;
Let all that breathe partake;
Let rocks their silence break,
The sound prolong.

Our fathers' God, to thee,
Author of Liberty,
To thee we sing;

Long may our land be bright
With Freedom's holy light;
Protect us by thy might,
Great God, our King.

Our glorious Land to-day,
'Neath Education's sway,
Soars upward still.
Its halls of learning fair,
Whose bounties all may share,
Behold them everywhere
On vale and hill!

Thy safeguard, Liberty,
The school shall ever be, —
Our Nation's pride!
No tyrant hand shall smite,
While with encircling might
All here are taught the Right
With Truth allied.

Beneath Heaven's gracious will
The star of progress still
Our course doth sway;
In unity sublime
To broader heights we climb,
Triumphant over Time,
God speeds our way!

Grand birthright of our sires,
Our altars and our fires
Keep we still pure!
Our starry flag unfurled,
The hope of all the world,
In Peace and Light impearled,
God hold secure!

S. F. SMITH

OUR NATION NOT FOR SALE

CHARLES C. PINCKNEY

"MILLIONS for Defense, but not one cent for tribute!" expressed the sentiment of Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, envoy to France in 1797, when French agents told him that pay would be expected if France were to consider the grievances of the United States.

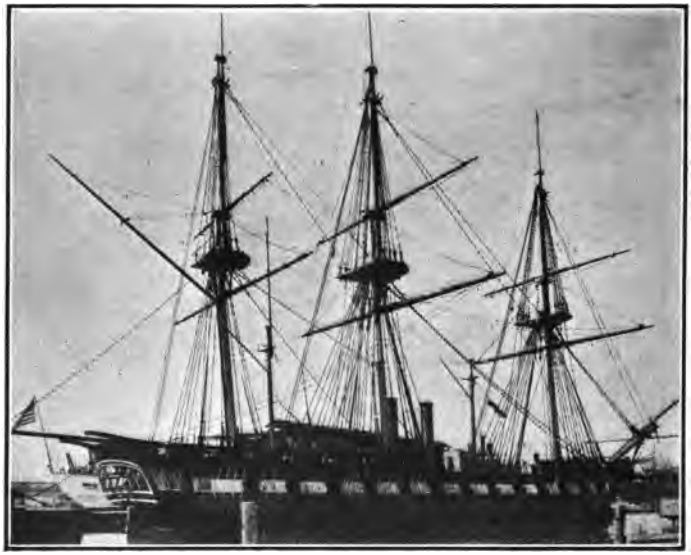
It looked at that time as though there must be war with France and Pinckney's defiant words expressed the feeling of every true American. In fact, war had actually begun when Napoleon Bonaparte came into power and promptly made peace.

Pinckney is worth remembering in this muster roll of buglers for freedom and democracy. He was a South Carolina man, and though a slave owner, he did much for freedom. When the Constitution of the United States was being considered, it was due to him that the clause was inserted "No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the authority of the United States." That clause put religious liberty into the government of the country, and religious liberty is one of the greatest things that a nation can have.

THE WAR-SHIP OF 1812

SHE was no armored cruiser of twice six thousand tons,
With the thirty foot of metal that make your modern guns;
She didn't have a freeboard of thirty foot in clear,
An' she didn't need a million repairin' fund each year.
She had no rackin' engines to ramp an' stamp an' strain,
To work her steel-clad turrets an' break her hull in twain;
She did not have electric lights, — the battle-lantern's glare
Was all the light the 'tween decks had, — an' God's own good fresh air.

She had no gapin' air-flumes to throw us down our breath,
An' we didn't batten hatches to smother men to death;



A WAR-SHIP OF 1812

She didn't have five hundred smiths — two hundred men would do —
In the old-time Yankee frigate for an old-time Yankee crew,
An' a fightin' Yankee captain, with his old-time Yankee clothes,
A-cursin' Yankee sailors with his old-time Yankee oaths.

She was built of Yankee timber and manned by Yankee men,
An' fought by Yankee sailors — Lord send their like again!
With the wind abaft the quarter and the sea-foam flyin' free,
An' every tack and sheet housed taut and braces eased to lee,
You could hear the deep sea thunder from the knight-heads where it broke,
As she trailed her lee guns under the blindin' whirl o' smoke.

She didn't run at twenty knots, — she wasn't built to run, —
An' we didn't need a half a watch to handle every gun.
Our captain didn't fight his ship from a little pen o' steel;
He fought her from his quarter-deck, with two hands at the wheel,
An' we fought in Yankee fashion, half-naked, — stripped to board, —
An' when they hauled their red flag down we praised the Yankee Lord;
We fought like Yankee sailors, an' we'll do it, too, again,
You've changed the ships an' methods, but you can't change Yankee men!

Philadelphia Record

AMERICA AT WAR FOR THE FREEDOM OF THE SEAS

The Bugle Call of 1812

In the first years of the nineteenth century, England was at war with France. Both the English and the French were seizing American ships, and the English were taking American sailors by force and compelling them to serve in the British navy.

No attention was paid to the protests of our government, and finally in 1812, we were forced to go to war with England for the freedom of the seas and the right to sail the ocean. The call to arms on behalf of liberty was sounded by a committee of the American Congress. This committee told the people of the United States, "We must now tamely and quietly submit, or we must resist by those means which God has placed within our reach."

We had almost no army, and the war on land went badly. We had almost no ships, and were fighting against England's great navy — the greatest in the world. Nevertheless the little American navy was victorious in many thrilling battles. This taught England a second time that Americans were dangerous foes. When peace was declared England acknowledged our right to sail the ocean undisturbed. And it was not until the European War of 1914 that any nation again dared interfere with the American right to the freedom of the seas.

THE FREEDOM OF THE SEAS

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
November, 1811

ALTHOUGH the groans of those victims of barbarity for the loss of their liberty — although the cries of their wives and children, in the privation of protectors and parents, have of late been drowned in the louder clamors of the loss of property, yet is the practice of forcing our mariners into the British navy, in violation of the rights of our flag, carried on with unabated rigor and severity.

If it be our duty to encourage the fair and legitimate commerce of this country by protecting the property of the merchant, then, indeed, by as much as life and liberty are more estimable than ships and goods, so much more impressive is the duty to shield the persons of our seamen, whose hard and honest services are employed, equally with those of the merchants, in advancing, under the mantle of its laws, the interests of their country.

To sum up, in a word, the great cause of complaint against Great Britain, your committee need only say, that the United States, as a sovereign and independent power, claim the right

to use the ocean, which is the common and acknowledged highway of nations, for the purposes of transporting, in their own vessels, the products of their own soils and the acquisitions of their own industry to a market in the ports of friendly nations, and to bring home, in return, such articles as their necessities or convenience may require, always regarding the rights of belligerents as defined by the established laws of nations.

Great Britain, in defiance of this incontestable right, captures every American vessel bound to or returning from a port where her commerce is not favored; enslaves our seamen, and, in spite of our remonstrances, perseveres in these aggressions. To wrongs so daring in character and so disgraceful in their execution, it is impossible that the people of the United States should remain indifferent. We must now tamely and quietly submit, or we must resist by those means which God has placed within our reach.

Your committee would not cast a shade over the American name by the expression of a doubt which branch of this alternative will be embraced. The occasion is now presented when the national character, misunderstood and traduced for a time by foreign and domestic enemies, should be vindicated. If we have not rushed to the field of battle like the nations who

are led by the mad ambition of a single chief in the avarice of a corrupted court, it has not proceeded from the fear of war, but from our love of justice and humanity.

That proud spirit of liberty and independence which sustained our fathers in the successful assertion of rights against foreign aggression is not yet sunk. The patriotic fire of the Revolution still lives in the American breast with a holy and unextinguishable flame, and will conduct this nation to those high destinies which are not less the reward of dignified moderation than of exalted valor. But we have borne with injury until forbearance has ceased to be a virtue.

The sovereignty and independence of these states, purchased and sanctified by the blood of our fathers, from whom we received them, not for ourselves only, but as the inheritance of our posterity, are deliberately and systematically violated. And the period has arrived when, in the opinion of your committee, it is the sacred duty of Congress to call forth the patriotism and resources of the country. By the aid of these, and with the blessing of God, we confidently trust we shall be able to procure that redress which has been sought for by justice, by remonstrance, and forbearance in vain.

HOW OUR NATIONAL ANTHEM CAME TO BE WRITTEN

EVERY American, when he hears the music of the Star Spangled Banner, stands at "attention." It is the National Anthem. In poetry and music it is what the flag is in form and color. It represents what our beloved country stands for.

When the words were written, in September, 1814, the British had entered Washington and the young American Republic was fighting for its life.

With Washington captured, the English army and fleet planned to take Baltimore and Fort McHenry, which guarded it.

Francis Scott Key of Baltimore was a prisoner on a British man of war when the attack on the fort began. All day he watched the battle rage and knew the fort had not been taken. But when darkness came he could not tell its fate and the anxious hours passed very slowly. At last the dawn broke, and in the first pale light he saw that the stars and stripes still waved above the fort, and the British had given up the attack. In his desire to find some expression of his joy he wrote on the back of an old letter the words of the Star Spangled Banner.

THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER

OH, say, can you see, by the dawn's early light,
What so proudly we hailed at the twilight's last gleaming?

Whose broad stripes and bright stars through the perilous fight
O'er the ramparts we watched were so gallantly streaming?
And the rockets' red glare and bombs bursting in air
Gave proof through the night that our flag was still there;
Oh, say, does that Star Spangled Banner yet wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave?

CHORUS

Oh, say, does the Star Spangled Banner yet wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave?

On the shore, dimly seen through the mist of the deep,
Where the foe's haughty host in dread silence reposes,
What is that which the breeze o'er the towering steep,
As it fitfully blows, half conceals, half discloses?
Now it catches the gleam of the morning's first beam,
In full glory reflected now shines in the stream;

'Tis the Star Spangled Banner, oh, long may it wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.

And where is that band who so vauntingly swore,
'Mid the havoc of war and the battle's confusion,
A home and a country they'd leave us no more?
Their blood has washed out their foul footsteps' pollution.
No refuge could save the hireling and slave
From terror of flight or the gloom of the grave;
And the Star Spangled Banner in triumph doth wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.

Oh, thus be it ever, when freemen shall stand
Between their loved home and the war's desolation;
Blest with victory and peace, may the Heaven-rescued land
Praise the Power that made and preserved us a nation!
Then conquer we must, when our cause it is just,
And this be our motto, "In God is our trust!"
And the Star Spangled Banner in triumph shall wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.

FRANCIS SCOTT KEY

THE GREATEST SPEECH OF THE GREATEST AMERICAN ORATOR

MEN who write books of history say Daniel Webster is the greatest orator America has ever had, and that the speech called the "Reply to Hayne" is his greatest speech.

At the time, he was Senator from Massachusetts, and the passing of the Tariff Bill in 1828 had roused intense and bitter feeling. Webster had voted for the bill because its measures protected the manufacturing interests of New England. South Carolina was terribly opposed to the bill, so Senator Hayne of South Carolina expressed his opinion of Massachusetts and of Webster in no uncertain terms, and announced that South Carolina had a right to disobey the Tariff Law and would do so.

The next day Webster answered Hayne, setting forth in his four-hour speech what he believed our Constitution stands for, and driving home the facts that the Union must come ahead of the ideas and desires of any state, and that the only possible way to preserve our liberty was by upholding the Union. "Union and Liberty, now and forever, one and inseparable," were his words.

LIBERTY AND UNION

FROM DANIEL WEBSTER'S REPLY TO HAYNE

THE people, then, sir, erected this Government. They gave it a Constitution, and in that Constitution they have enumerated the powers which they bestow on it. They have made it a limited

Government. They have defined its authority. They have restrained it to the exercise of such powers as are granted; and all others, they declare, are reserved to the States or the people. But, sir, they have not stopped here. If they had, they would have accomplished but half their work. No definition can be so clear as to avoid possibility of doubt; no limitation so precise as to exclude all uncertainty.

Who, then, shall construe this grant of the people? Who shall interpret their will, where it may be supposed they have left it doubtful? With whom do they repose this ultimate right of deciding on the powers of the Government? Sir, they have settled all this in the fullest manner. They have left it with the Government itself, in its appropriate branches.

Sir, the very chief end, the main design, for which the whole Constitution was framed and adopted, was to establish a Government that should not be obliged to act through State agency, or depend on State opinion and State discretion. The people had had quite enough of that kind of Government under the Confederacy. Under that system the legal action — the application of law to individuals — belonged exclusively to the States. Congress could only recommend — their acts were not of binding force till the States had adopted and sanctioned them. Are we in that

condition still? Are we yet at the mercy of State discretion and State construction? Sir, if we are, then vain will be our attempt to maintain the Constitution under which we sit.

But, sir, the people have wisely provided in the Constitution itself, a proper suitable mode and tribunal for settling questions of constitutional law. There are, in the Constitution, grants of powers to Congress, and restrictions on these powers. There are also prohibitions on the States. Some authority must therefore necessarily exist, having the ultimate jurisdiction to fix and ascertain the interpretation of these grants, restrictions, and prohibitions.

DANIEL WEBSTER

The Constitution has itself pointed out, ordained and established that authority. How has it accomplished this great and essential end? By declaring, sir, that "the Constitution and the laws of the United States, made in pursuance thereof, shall be the supreme law of the land,

anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding."

This, sir, was the first great step. By this the supremacy of the Constitution and laws of the United States is declared. The people so will it. No State law is to be valid, which comes in conflict with the Constitution, or any law of the United States passed in pursuance of it. But who shall decide this question of interference? To whom lies the last appeal? This, sir, the Constitution itself decides also by declaring "that the judicial power shall extend to all cases arising under the Constitution and laws of the United States." These two provisions, sir, cover the whole ground. They are in truth the keystone of the arch. With these it is a Constitution; without them it is a Confederacy.

If anything be found in the national Constitution, either by original provision, or subsequent interpretation, which ought not to be in it, the people know how to get rid of it. If any construction be established, unacceptable to them, so as to become, practically, a part of the Constitution, they will amend it, at their own sovereign pleasure: but while the people choose to maintain it, as it is; while they are satisfied with it, and refuse to change it, who has given, or who can give, to the State legislatures a right to alter it, either by interference, construction, or otherwise?

Gentlemen do not seem to recollect that the people have any power to do anything for themselves; they imagine there is no safety for them any longer than they are under the close guardianship of the State legislatures. Sir, the people have not trusted their safety, in regard to the General Constitution, to these hands. They have required other security, and taken other bonds. They have chosen to trust themselves, first, to the plain words of the instrument, and to such construction as the Government itself, in doubtful cases, should put on its own powers, under their oaths of office, and subject to their responsibility to them; just as the people of a State trust their own State governments with a similar power.

Secondly, they have reposed their trust in the efficacy of frequent elections, and in their own power to remove their own servants and agents, whenever they see cause.

Thirdly, they have reposed trust in the judicial power, which in order that it might be trustworthy, they have made as respectable, as disinterested, and as independent as was practicable.

Fourthly, they have seen fit to rely in case of necessity, or high expediency, on their known and admitted power, to alter or amend the Constitution, peaceably and quietly, whenever experience shall point out defects or imperfections.

And, finally, the people of the United States have, at no time, in no way, directly or indirectly, authorized any State legislature to construe or interpret their high instrument of government; much less to interfere, by their own power, to arrest its course and operation.

If, sir, the people, in these respects, had done otherwise than they have done, their Constitution could neither have been preserved, nor would it have been worth preserving. And, if its plain provisions shall now be disregarded, and these new doctrines interpolated in it, it will become as feeble and helpless a being as its enemies, whether early or more recent, could possibly desire. It will exist in every State, but as a poor dependent on State permission. It must borrow leave to be and it will be no longer than State pleasure or State discretion sees fit to grant the indulgence and to prolong its poor existence.

But, sir, although there are fears, there are hopes also. The people have preserved this, their own chosen Constitution, for forty years and have seen their happiness, prosperity and renown grow with its growth, and strengthen with its strength. They are now, generally, strongly attached to it. Overthrown by direct assault, it cannot be; evaded, undermined, nullified, it will not be, if we, and those who shall succeed us

here, as agents and representatives of the people, shall conscientiously and vigilantly discharge the two great branches of our public trust — faithfully to preserve and wisely to administer it.

Mr. President, I have thus stated the reasons of my dissent to the doctrines which have been advanced and maintained. I am conscious of having detained you and the Senate much too long. I was drawn into the debate with no previous deliberation such as is suited to the discussion of so grave and important a subject. But it is a subject of which my heart is full, and I have not been willing to suppress the utterance of its spontaneous sentiments. I cannot, even now, persuade myself to relinquish it without expressing once more, my deep conviction, that since it respects nothing less than the Union of the States, it is of most vital and essential importance to the public happiness.

I profess, sir, in my career, hitherto, to have kept steadily in view the prosperity and honor of the whole country, and the preservation of our Federal Union. It is to that Union we owe our safety at home and our consideration and dignity abroad. It is to that Union that we are chiefly indebted for whatever makes us most proud of our country. That Union we reached only by the discipline of our virtues in the severe school of adversity. It had its origin in the necessities

of disordered finance, prostrate commerce and ruined credit. Under its benign influence, these great interests immediately awoke as from the dead and sprang forth with newness of life. Every year of its duration has teemed with fresh proofs of its utility and its blessings; and, although our territory has stretched out wider and wider, and our population spread further and further, they have not outrun its protection or its benefits. It has been to us all a copious fountain of national, social and personal happiness.

I have not allowed myself, sir, to look beyond the Union to see what might lie hidden in the dark recess behind. I have not coolly weighed the chances of preserving liberty when the bonds that unite us together shall be broken asunder. I have not accustomed myself to hang over the precipice of disunion to see whether, with my short sight, I can fathom the depth of the abyss below; nor could I regard him as a safe counselor in the affairs of this Government, whose thoughts should be mainly bent on considering not how the Union should be best preserved, but how tolerable might be the condition of the people when it shall be broken up and destroyed.

While the Union lasts we have high, exciting, gratifying prospects spread out before us, for us and our children. Beyond that I seek not to penetrate the veil. God grant that in my day,

at least, that curtain may not rise. God grant that, on my vision, never may be opened what lies behind.

When my eyes shall be turned to behold, for the last time, the sun in heaven, may I not see him shining on the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious Union; on States dissevered, discordant, belligerent; on a land rent with civil feuds, or drenched, it may be, in fraternal blood! Let their last feeble and lingering glance rather behold the gorgeous ensign of the Republic, now known and honored throughout the earth, still full high advanced, its arms and trophies streaming in their original luster, not a stripe erased or polluted, nor a single star obscured, bearing for its motto no such miserable interrogatory as, "What is all this worth?" nor those other words of delusion and folly, "Liberty first and union afterwards"; but everywhere, spread all over in characters of living light, blazing on all its ample folds, as they float over the sea and over the land, and in every wind under the whole heavens, that other sentiment, dear to every true American heart — Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!

LONGFELLOW DESCRIBES THE REPUBLIC

HENRY W. LONGFELLOW

THE poem called "The Ship of State" is really part of Longfellow's great poem "The Building of a Ship." It sets forth in different words and in a different form the same belief that Webster had when he said, "It is to that Union we owe our safety at home and our consideration and dignity abroad. It is to that Union that we are chiefly indebted for whatever makes us most proud of our country." And it contains the same thought which Webster expressed, "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable."

THE SHIP OF STATE

THOU, too, sail on, O Ship of State!
Sail on, O Union strong and great!
Humanity, with all its fears,
With all the hopes of future years,

Is hanging breathless on thy fate!
We know what Master laid thy keel,
What workmen wrought thy ribs of steel,
Who made each mast and sail and rope,
What anvils rang, what hammers beat,
In what a forge and what a heat
Were shaped the anchors of thy hope!
Fear not each sudden sound and shock,
'Tis of the wave and not the rock;
'Tis but the flapping of the sail,
And not a rent made by the gale!
In spite of rock and tempest's roar,
In spite of false lights on the shore,
Sail on, nor fear to breast the sea!
Our hearts, our hopes, are all with thee,
Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears,
Our faith triumphant o'er our fears,
Are all with thee, — are all with thee!

HENRY W. LONGFELLOW

THE QUESTION OF HUMAN SLAVERY

THREE years before the war between the North and the South, there were no slaves in the North. In all the southern states there were slaves. When a new state was admitted to the Union, the question at once came up: Shall it be a free state or a slave state? When a slave escaped from a slave state into a free state, the question at once arose: Must the slave be captured in the free state and sent back into slavery?

The country could not agree on these things. In Massachusetts and in other places of the North, abolitionists, as people were called who wanted to do away with the holding of slaves, were helping slaves to escape and were stirring up hatred of slavery. The South was bitter over such actions.

Just as Patrick Henry of Virginia, three quarters of a century before, had called upon his friends and neighbors to make up their minds upon the great question of Independence, so Abraham Lincoln, in speaking of slavery, in 1858, told his fellow Americans that the country must be all one thing or all the other. In this speech he did not ask to have the slaves freed, but he said that the Union must be preserved and that "a house divided against itself cannot stand." He said that the question of slavery could never be settled until the country became all a slave country or all a free country.

This was just what most Americans did not want to believe. They hated to have anyone say it. At the time he made this speech, Lincoln was nominated for the Senate, but because of his slavery views, Illinois defeated him.

Two years after, he was elected President of the United States, and hardly had his term begun when Fort Sumter was fired upon and the Civil War began.

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ABRAHAM LINCOLN

A HOUSE DIVIDED AGAINST ITSELF

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Convention Speech, June 17, 1858

MR. PRESIDENT, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION:

IF we could first know where we are, and whither we are tending, we could better judge what to do, and how to do it. We are now far into the fifth year since a policy was initiated with the avowed object and confident promise of putting an end to slavery agitation. Under the operation of that policy, that agitation has not only not ceased, but has constantly augmented. In my opinion, it will not cease until a crisis shall have been reached and passed.

"A house divided against itself cannot stand." I believe this Government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved, — I do not expect the house to fall, — but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward, till it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new — North as well as South.

DURING THE CIVIL WAR

THE great Civil War went on. One commander after another was placed in charge of the armies that were fighting for the union of the states and the freedom of the slaves. One after another failed to prove himself the military leader that was needed. The armies of the South invaded Maryland and were driven back. Then, on the heels of this victory, came Lincoln's declaration that on January 1, 1863, all slaves in the seceding states should be forever free.

A few more months went by and again the southern armies invaded the North and fought the great decisive battle of the war at Gettysburg. Here again the northern army was victorious. Then Vicksburg was taken the same summer by Ulysses S. Grant.

But in the fall of 1863, the end still seemed very far off. In New York City there were riots against the draft. Robert E. Lee, that great soldier and noble southerner, beloved by his men as few leaders in war have ever been beloved, was still at the head of the forces in the South.

Lincoln was terribly worried. But even in those trying days, he was free from hard and bitter feeling towards the South, and at the dedication of the new cemetery at Gettysburg, where many thousands of the brave boys of the North and South had fallen, he made a speech which showed his greatness of spirit.

There are about two hundred words in that speech. Lincoln read it from a little piece of paper. Edward Everett, a great orator, made a speech that would cover one whole page of a newspaper. But Lincoln's speech is the greater of the two. It is one of the great orations of the English language.

LINCOLN'S GETTYSBURG ADDRESS

November 19, 1863

FOURSCORE and seven years ago, our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting-place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But in a larger sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honored dead we take in-

creased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

THE BLUE AND THE GRAY

By the flow of the inland river,
Whence the fleets of iron had fled,
Where the blades of the grave-grass quiver,
Asleep are the ranks of the dead, —
Under the sod and the dew;
Waiting the judgment day;
Under the one, the Blue;
Under the other, the Gray.

These in the robings of glory,
Those in the gloom of defeat;
All with the battle-blood gory,
In the dusk of eternity meet, —
Under the sod and the dew;
Waiting the judgment day;
Under the laurel, the Blue;
Under the willow, the Gray.

From the silence of sorrowful hours
The desolate mourners go,
Lovingly laden with flowers,
Alike for the friend and the foe;
Under the sod and the dew;
Waiting the judgment day;
Under the roses, the Blue;
Under the lilies, the Gray.

So, with an equal splendor,
The morning sun-rays fall,
With a touch impartially tender,
On the blossoms blooming for all, —
Under the sod and the dew;
Waiting the judgment day;
Broidered with gold, the Blue;
Mellowed with gold, the Gray.

So, when the summer calleth
On forest, and field of grain,
With an equal murmur falleth
The cooling drip of the rain;
Under the sod and the dew;
Waiting the judgment day;
Wet with the rain, the Blue;
Wet with the rain, the Gray.

Sadly, but not with upbraiding,
The generous deed was done;

In the storm of the years now fading
No braver battle was won;
Under the sod and the dew;
Waiting the judgment day;
Under the blossoms, the Blue;
Under the garlands, the Gray.

No more shall the war cry sever,
Or the winding rivers be red;
They banish our anger forever
When they laurel the graves of our dead.
Under the sod and the dew;
Waiting the judgment day;
Love and tears for the Blue;
Tears and love for the Gray.

FRANCIS M. FINCH

THE QUESTION OF SLAVERY DECIDED

LINCOLN'S first term as President came to an end while the Civil War was still unfinished, and he was re-elected for a second term. His inauguration was in March, 1865.

Lincoln could then foresee the end of the war, and in his second inaugural address he showed the people how curious and sad it was that both the North and the South should be reading the same Bible and praying to the same God, each calling upon Him for aid against the other. "Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray," he said, "that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away." But he

could see no other way than to keep on fighting until the question was decided between union and no union, between freedom and slavery.

What made Lincoln great was what made all who knew him love him and makes us all, North and South, love him to this day. That is because he had no hatred in his heart. He was the strongest man in the country. He was not only strong in his patience, in his power of making other people see as he saw, and do as he desired, but he was strong in his love for mankind. And that is the meaning of the last words of his speech when the country made him President a second time, "With malice toward none, with charity for all." A little more than a month after that, the war was over and Lincoln was dead, killed by an assassin's bullet.

FROM ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S SECOND INAUGURAL ADDRESS

March, 1865

With malice towards none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and orphans; to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and a lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.

BARBARA FRIETCHIE

Up from the meadows rich with corn,
Clear in the cool September morn,

The clustered spires of Frederick stand
Green-walled by the hills of Maryland.

Round about them orchards sweep,
Apple and peach trees fruited deep,

Fair as the garden of the Lord
To the eyes of the famished rebel horde,

On that pleasant morn of the early fall,
When Lee marched over the mountain-wall, —

Over the mountains winding down,
Horse and foot, into Frederick town.

Forty flags with their silver stars,
Forty flags with their crimson bars,

Flapped in the morning wind: the sun
Of noon looked down, and saw not one.

Up rose old Barbara Frietchie then,
Bowed with her fourscore years and ten;

Bravest of all in Frederick town,
She took up the flag the men hauled down;

In her attic window the staff she set,
To show that one heart was loyal yet.

Up the street came
the rebel tread,
Stonewall Jackson rid-
ing ahead.

Under his slouched hat
left and right
He glanced: the old flag
met his sight.

"Halt!"—the dust-
brown ranks stood
fast.
"Fire!"—out blazed
the rifle blast.

JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER

It shivered the window, pane and sash;
It rent the banner with seam and gash.

Quick, as it fell from the broken staff,
Dame Barbara snatched the silken scarf.

She leaned far out on the window-sill,
And shook it forth with a royal will.

"Shoot, if you must, this old gray head,
But spare your country's flag," she said.

A shade of sadness, a blush of shame
Over the face of the leader came.

The nobler nature within him stirred
To life at that woman's deed and word:

"Who touches a hair of yon gray head
Dies like a dog! March on!" he said.

All day long through Frederick street
Sounded the tread of marching feet:

All day long that free flag tost
Over the heads of the rebel host.

Ever its torn folds rose and fell
On the loyal winds that loved it well;

And through the hill-gaps sunset light
Shone over it with a warm good-night.

Barbara Frietchie's work is o'er,
And the rebel rides on his raids no more.

Honor to her! and let a tear
Fall, for her sake, on Stonewall's bier.

Over Barbara Frietchie's grave,
Flag of Freedom and Union, wave!

Peace and order and beauty draw
Round thy symbol of light and law;

And ever the stars above look down
On thy stars below in Frederick town!

JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER

LIBERTY ENLIGHTENING THE WORLD

THE highest statue in the world stands on a little island in New York harbor looking out towards Europe. It is 151 feet high and the torch at the top is 305 feet above the water. Forty persons can stand inside the head of the statue. The arm that holds the torch is so big that a staircase is built inside. The first finger is seven feet long.

But it is not the bigness of the Statue of Liberty that makes Americans proud of it. It is what that statue means. France gave it to us. The French people, after a hundred years of suffering, struggle and bloodshed and a terrible war with Prussia, became a republic. They remembered the great sympathy of their forefathers for us when we were becoming a republic, and they remembered that the hundredth birthday of American Independence was just taking place. They wanted to show to America that the two nations are brothers, united by love of liberty.

Longfellow, the poet, and Sumner the statesman encouraged Monsieur Bartholdi to lend his skill to the building of the statue. French people, rich and poor, were eager to

give the $400,000 that it cost. Americans gladly subscribed $300,000 for the pedestal. It was unveiled in 1886 at a memorable ceremony with warships firing salutes and statesmen of both countries making speeches.

THE STATUE OF LIBERTY

This grand statue of "Liberty Enlightening the World" is the figure of a woman bearing in one hand a tablet with the words "July 4, 1776," and with the other hand holding up a torch with a great light shining from it.

The light from the torch of the Statue of Liberty shines across the ocean toward the older countries calling to those in less fortunate lands to come to America where they can be free men and women. It lights up the heavens with a glow that tells all the world that America is eternally devoted to the cause of democracy and freedom. It sends out the message that the two republics, France and the United States, stand together now and forever shoulder to shoulder to protect the rights of man.

THE LITTLE WAR THAT FREED CUBA

For centuries Cuba was a Spanish possession. Spain governed Cuba badly, and instead of getting better everything got worse and worse, until in 1895 Cuba rebelled. To crush the rebellion, the Spanish Government of the Island drove the people into concentration camps where they starved and died in great numbers.

By 1898 it was clear that the United States must do something. And while we were talking about what could be done, the splendid battleship *Maine*, sailing into Havana harbor on a friendly visit, and anchoring where the Spanish authorities told Captain Sigsbee to anchor, was blown up and sank with all on board.

From all parts of the country came the demand for war. But President McKinley would not be hurried. He waited until a committee had explored the wreck and determined that it was caused by an explosion outside the ship. That took two months. The President then put the facts before Congress and Congress told the President to engage in war with Spain.

It was a short war, but when it was over the United States found itself not only responsible for peace and order in Cuba, but also were in possession of Porto Rico and the great Philippine archipelago, which were Spanish possessions before the war. On all these new islands the United States has bestowed as rapidly as possible the blessings of self-government.

PRESIDENT McKINLEY'S WAR MESSAGE

From the Message of President WILLIAM McKINLEY to the House of Representatives, April 11, 1898.

IT becomes my duty now to address you with regard to the grave crisis that has arisen in the relations of the United States to Spain by reason of the warfare that for more than three years has raged in the neighboring island of Cuba.

WILLIAM McKINLEY

Since the present revolution began in 1895 this country has seen the fertile domain at our threshold ravaged by fire and sword in the course of a struggle unequalled in the history of the island and rarely paralleled as to the numbers of combatants and the bitterness of the contest by any revolution of modern times where a dependent people striving to be free have been opposed by the power of the sovereign state.

As I said in my message of last December, it was not civilized warfare; it was extermination.

THE McKINLEY MONUMENT, BUFFALO, NEW YORK

The only peace it could beget was that of the wilderness and the grave.

Forcible intervention is justifiable:

First. In the cause of humanity and to put an end to the barbarities, bloodshed, starvation and horrible miseries now existing there.

It is no answer to say that this is all in another country, belonging to another nation and is therefore none of our business. It is specially our duty for it is right at our door.

Second. We owe it to our own citizens in Cuba to afford them that protection for life and property which no government there can or will afford.

Third. The right to intervene may be justified by the very serious injury to the commerce, trade and business of our people and by the wanton destruction of property and devastation of the island.

Fourth. The present condition of affairs in Cuba is a constant menace to our peace. I have already sent to Congress the report of the naval court of inquiry on the destruction of the battleship *Maine* in the harbor of Havana during the night of the fifteenth of February. The destruction of that noble vessel has filled the national heart with horror. Two hundred and fifty-eight brave sailors and marines and two officers of our navy reposing in the fancied security of a friendly harbor, have been hurled to death.

The issue is now with Congress. It is a solemn responsibility. I have exhausted every effort to relieve the intolerable condition of affairs which is at our doors. Prepared to execute every obligation imposed upon me by the Constitution and the law I await your action.

ONLY ONE MONUMENT FOR THE SAILORS OF THE *MAINE*

How the Nation felt about the sinking of the *Maine* and our duty to Cuba was told by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge in a speech in the Senate the day that war was declared. It was because the sailors of the *Maine* were murdered that we went to war, but we were resolved that the war should not only avenge the death of these men, but that it should bring liberty and independence to Cuba in place of cruelty and oppression.

SENATOR LODGE'S SPEECH ON WAR WITH SPAIN

DELIVERED IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE
April 13, 1898

IF war must be — I hope and pray that it may yet be avoided — no nation ever went to war on higher grounds or from nobler or more disinterested motives. War is here, if it is here, by the act of Spain. We have grasped no man's territory. We have taken no man's property. We have invaded no man's rights. We do not ask their lands. We do not ask their money. We ask peace in that unhappy island — peace and freedom, not for ourselves, but for others.

It is an unselfish, a pure, a noble demand,

and if war does come, then, Mr. President, we do not fear to meet it. We will meet it so that the curse of Spain shall never rest again on any part of the Western hemisphere. We do not want war: we would do anything in honor to avoid it; but if it must come, it will be a war that will prevent Spain from ever bringing misery, death and ruin to Cuba, and agitation, unhappiness, loss and war to the United States.

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HENRY CABOT LODGE

And now, Mr. President, what of the *Maine?* I am so sentimental, I am so merely human, that that ship is nearer my heart than anything else. Suppose she had gone down to her death in an English harbor, blown up as she was, carrying her men with her; what do you think would have been the voice of England — the land of Nelson? I believe if it had happened in an English port England would have said, in a great and generous spirit, "We regard this with horror, we believe that it must have been an

accident, but it happened in our harbor under our flag. If you think otherwise name the reparation that you want."

Such, Mr. President, I believe, would have been the reply of England; such I believe would have been our reply or that of any of the great powers.

Look now at Spain. She has done nothing but slander officers and sailors of the *Maine*, dead and living. Her ambassador to Rome said but a week ago to all Europe in a published interview, that that ship went down because her captain neglected her and was not on board. Notorious as the sinking of the ship is, the fact that Captain Sigsbee was there and was the last man to leave, is equally well known, and yet the Spanish ambassador to Rome tells that lying story to the world.

They rejoiced in Havana and they explained the explosion by throwing it upon our officers, slandering their character and denying their words. I have no more doubt about it than that I am now standing in the Senate of the United States, that that ship was blown up by a government mine.

Others may reason from the facts as they please. To me they bear but one interpretation, and that is that the *Maine* went to her death by Spanish treachery in the harbor of Havana and

Spaniards exulted and feasted when the black deed was done.

It may be urged that we should negotiate and arbitrate, but whenever I think of that solution there comes to my mind the lines of Lowell, written at another period, a very dark time in this country:

> Ef I turn mad dogs loose, John,
> On your front parlor stairs,
> Would it jest meet your views, John,
> To wait an' sue their heirs?

At the close of the Civil War the great war governor of Massachusetts found his practice scattered, his small accumulations and savings gone, because he had given his time, as, indeed, he gave his life to the service of the State and the country. It was known how much he had suffered in his practice and his purse and there was a story circulated in the papers that his friends intended to make him collector of the port, the most highly paid office in the State of Massachusetts.

The day that item of news appeared a friend of Governor Andrew met him and said to him, "Well, Governor, are you going to take the collectorship?" He paused a moment, then looked up suddenly and said, "I have stood for four years as high priest between the horns of the

altar; I have poured out upon it the best blood of Massachusetts; I cannot take money for that."

Mr. President, we cannot take money for the dead men of the *Maine*. There is only one reparation. There is only one monument to raise over that grave, and that is free Cuba and peace in that island. That is a worthy monument, worthy of men who died under the flag they loved, died "in the line of duty."

I care but little what form of words we adopt. I am ready to yield my opinions to those about me in Congress. Still more ready am I to defer to the wishes of the Executive, who stands, and must stand, at our head; but I want now to arm that Executive with powers which shall enable him, in the good providence of God, to bring peace to Cuba and exact justice for the *Maine*.

THE UNITED STATES NOT A WARLIKE NATION

We are not a warlike nation; here of old our
fathers settled,
Seeking scope for their opinions, in the log house
and the hut;
Seeking elbow room and freedom, sober men and
quiet mettled,

Almost too religious, maybe, peaceful-minded
people; but —

Since they wished to farm the meadows, wished
to go to church on Sunday,
And the redskin would annoy them with his lust
for human hair,
From far Georgia to the south'ard, to the misty
shore of Fundy,
Flintlocks kept the plough a-going, bullets helped
to speed the prayer.

We are not a warlike nation; though the blood
we brought was ruddy,
We preferred its cherry runnels in the veins kept
tightly shut.
We had thews for farm and fishnet; we had
brains to scheme and study;
Brawn and brain for peace and quiet, — that was
all we wanted; but —

Ask the fields of sleepy Concord, ask old wrecked
Ticonderoga,
Of the cost of unjust taxes and old bottles for
new wine!
Something more than glass was broken on the
heights of Saratoga,
And the tax was paid at Yorktown by the stiff
old buff-blue line.

We are not a warlike nation; patterned, rather,
for keen trading;
Some will say the style is English, that from
them we get the cut;
East and west our ships went speeding, decks
awash from heavy lading;
Bowsprits poked in every harbor, never seeking
quarrels; but —

When our rich Levant trade came, and Tripoli
claimed tribute from it, —
Tribute paid by other navies trading down the
midland sea, —
We, the least and last of nations, blew her gun-
boats to Mahomet,
Blew the faithful to their houris, made the straits
forever free.

We are not a warlike nation; we had states to
form and settle,
We had stuffs to manufacture, till our markets
felt the glut;
We were busy getting headway, busy panning
out the metal
From the human dust that reached us from the
old-world digging; but —

We could slow up for a moment, just to show our
elder brother

That the bird we put our faith in was not stuffed
upon his perch;
And we told him through the cannon, in the sea
fights' reek and smother,
We had searched the Scripture duly, but had
found no "right to search."

We are not a warlike nation; peace sometimes
keeps men's souls sleeping;
Some of us still sought our harvests in the old
barbaric rut
Worn by captive feet, till, one day, party feeling
upward leaping,
Broke into a flame and blazed on all the startled
nations; but —

When the smoke from red fields lifted, when the
armies were disbanded, —
Better armies, all the world knows, never car-
tridge bit or rammed, —
Proud of their own deeds, and proud, too, of the
men who, lighter handed,
Fought them long and ofttimes whipped them,
slavery was dead and damned.

We are not a warlike nation; we love life far
more than dying;
We have little time for swagger and the military
strut;

Let old Europe pay big armies; we have better
fish for frying,
We have nobler tools for manhood than the sword
and rifle; but —

Since we are a Christian nation, and the blood
our veins are filled with —
Anglo-Saxon, Celtic, Teuton — will not keep for-
ever cool,
When we see weak women starving, helpless,
illstarred children killed with
Filthy water, air empoisoned, just to eke out
Spanish rule;

Since we find that Cuba's Cuban, and the Span-
iard but a tenant
Who defiles the house he lives in, then our duty
stands out plain;
We are masters in these waters, at the main-
mast flies our pennant,
End this hell on earth, or, hark ye, eastward lies
the path to Spain.

ROBERT CAMERON ROGERS

VIVIANI AND JOFFRE

LaFayette came to America from France in 1777 to help us win liberty and independence. Viviani and Joffre came to America from France in 1917, to urge us to make haste to help France, Great Britain, Italy, Belgium, Russia and the other allies in their war for freedom.

Viviani was at the head of the government of France when Germany, in spite of her solemn promise, sent her armies through Belgium, burning villages and killing women and children as they went, and advanced into France, hoping to take Paris.

Joffre was in command of the heroic French army that suddenly turned, when Paris was almost reached, and drove the Germans back in defeat in the Battle of the Marne. These brave Frenchmen, Viviani says, answered, as children answer, the call of their mother. All the history of France was behind them. They were fighting not only for France but for democracy everywhere and for all time.

"Stand with us, Britons!" cried Henry Ward Beecher, the American, in 1863, when he went to England to ask for sympathy in the war against slavery. "Come to us, brothers!" cried Viviani to the men of the United States, "to the fight we are fighting for right and truth and justice!" And within three months there was an American army in France. Frenchmen, Britons, Russians, Italians, Americans were standing together for right, truth, justice, freedom and democracy.

THE BATTLE OF THE MARNE

By René Viviani, Chicago, May 4, 1917

As children answer the call of their mother, so the children of France answered the call of their country.

The first shock was a fearful one. I do not think that in all history a single people ever remained more resolute and dauntless under the tempest of steel and fire that was unchained against us. We stood undaunted; but our hearts felt the impact of an avalanche of two millions of men.

The German machine was well organized. For forty years no cog was lacking in it. In that machine that knew not the rule of the individual, in which a man counted for nothing, in which the machine was all, in that machine all was ready.

And you know what happened. Serbia trampled under foot, murdered, simply because it was weak; Belgium summoned to throw open her frontiers to her invader, and refusing; hurling herself, in spite of her material weakness, in the full splendor of moral greatness and strength, because she would leave no stain on the pages of

RENÉ VIVIANI AND MARSHAL JOFFRE

her history; offering up the blood of her children to save her honor. And England, unshakable as we were, because her signature was on a treaty and she would not betray her faith, she also rose with us.

But in the early days of the campaign we, the children of France, almost alone bore the onset of the avalanche. We do not pretend not to have yielded physically for a short space — Yes, ever fighting, struggling against overwhelming odds, scattering the corpses of our sons on the roads, we retreated along. We retreated tactically until the day when, under my Premiership, the Marshal, who was then a General only, warned us, as early as the 23rd of August, that his battle plan was fixed, and that he had communicated it to his Generals; until the 4th of September (and by one of those happy coincidences of history that date was the birthday of the Third Republic) when our troops received the order to march forward, to march forward against the enemy, the invaders of our territory.

And then our poor soldiers, worn out by twenty consecutive days and nights of fighting, exhausted, without sleep, without proper food, after fighting day and night for all that period, answered the call of their chief. They rallied to his call and with smiling lips and radiant eyes along

the fighting line, to the sound of the drum and clarion, marched against the enemy. And in the space of a few days fifty kilometers of French territory were freed.

And do you know why the soldiers of the Marne fought as they did? It is because they were the soldiers of a democratic army, in which the most capable man can climb to the top, in which the highest officers are the friends and comrades of their soldiers. And if they fought thus it was, let me tell you, because all the history of France was behind them, and was familiar to them, because they were the descendants of the soldiers of Valmy who under the French Revolution had already saved France and the liberty of the world; because they were also the descendants of Charles Martel's soldiers who in the Plains of Poitiers stayed the avalanche of the Barbarians, and thus fulfilled the historic mission of France.

Doubtless, like ourselves, you entered this war under the sting of German insults, in order that the honor of the nation formed by Washington should suffer no humiliation, in order to avenge your dead and dying, the children and the women murdered on the desolate, bleak, high seas, at night, in winter, by the criminal hands of those we are fighting against together. You went into this war for that. But not for that alone.

Was it possible for you to see through the immense distances that separate us the frightful spectacle which unchained Europe shows; possible to see all the blood spilt; so many martyrs falling in a sacred cause; possible to count the thousands of dead, wounded, and sick; possible to count the mourning women, whose pride and sorrow are hidden under their black veils; possible to count one by one all our orphans; possible to contemplate such sights without deep emotion and a revolt of your souls; possible to see the Marne, the Ypres, the Somme, Verdun, where a fraction of the French Army held back a million men; and see, from far away, the lightnings of the tremendous battle rise above the immortal city to form the luminous beacon-light which illuminates the whole world; was it possible, I say, to see all this and not feel your hearts thrill and burn? No; it was not possible. And for months past I have been saying to myself that it was not possible.

When French democracy, which made the French Revolution, which gave directing thoughts to all Europe, which long ago sent its flags, its generals and its soldiers to fight for independence; when that democracy was struggling for its life, could you stand aloof? No; that was the one thing impossible.

Come to us, then: come as brothers to the

fight we are fighting for right and truth and justice. But remember well that out of this war must come the great lesson it holds. I have already said it is an empty and deadly dream for democracies to imagine they can live under purely ideal conditions and that they are threatened by no evil or perverse powers. If the democracies do not arm themselves for their defense; if they do not possess free men ready to seize the sword, not for conquest, but for the defense of their native land; sooner or later the imperial eagle will swoop down on them at an hour when it will be too late to organize resistance.

Consider our example. We are a people of forty millions of men. What are forty millions in comparison with the one hundred millions of the American people? But we were organized; but we had a national force; but we had officers, generals; but we had a chief; all was ready, so far at least as any democracy can be ready; and notwithstanding, by a fatality, for some days it seemed as if we might be annihilated.

Therefore, let democracies arm in their own defense so long as in the wide world there remains a threatening autocracy. But it shall not long threaten. It is not to be believed that with all our coalized forces we cannot crush an autocracy at which we have in these last years struck such powerful blows; it is not possible that the abso-

lute monarchs, who, in the Central Empires, by their bloody whims dispose of the destinies of the world, should be allowed to continue.

MOUNT VERNON. THE HOME OF GEORGE WASHINGTON

We will reach them; we will carry to their ears the cry of oppressed peoples; we shall declare that it is unthinkable that the strong should forever oppress the weak; we shall exact peace for all, liberty for all, equality for all.

And when we have won the victory of Democracy, when as a free people we have brought our labors to full consummation, then all our thoughts will turn to the victims of this war. Together we will go to lay the palms of justice on the tombs of our children; and you in your pilgrimage will repair to Mount Vernon to ask the great soul of Washington, Founder of the

Republic, Father of your country, have we done well in doing this? Are you well pleased with your children? Have they rightly understood

WASHINGTON'S TOMB AT MT. VERNON

the glorious tradition you inscribed on our flag?

And, rest assured, his great shade will arise to thank you, and to bless you.

ENGLAND FOR LIBERTY

WHEN Germany began her war of conquest in July, 1914, she was well prepared. She knew — or her ruling classes knew — what her object was. An enormous army was ready to the last shoe-string. Another army, not in uniform was on duty in all parts of the earth, an army of spies, gaining information for the German war office. The navy was ready, the air ships were ready. Every step in the plan for invading France through Belgium had been worked out. All nations combined could not compare with Germany in the completeness of her readiness. She crouched in secret by the wayside, waiting for the moment when she could spring at the throat of Europe.

The Kaiser was hoping that very shortly Europe and America, too, would be at Germany's feet, and Germany would inherit the earth, and stamp out freedom and democracy.

But in one thing Germany was not ready. She could not understand other people. Why little Belgium should refuse to help Germany attack France; why the killing of unprotected women and children on land or sea, was objected to; above all, why Great Britain should go to war on behalf of Belgium and France, German leaders never could understand.

In a splendid speech, "Through Terror to Triumph," David Lloyd George, afterwards Prime Minister of England, tells the world why Great Britain acted as she did. That speech, full of courage and patriotism, was delivered very soon after the war began.

It gave notice to the world that Great Britain is the stanch champion of human rights. Instead of a "timorous,

craven nation," as Germany called her, she is a mighty warrior, fighting for the only peace worth having, the peace of the square deal. She has fought against France, against Russia, against the United States. The year 1917 finds her fighting side by side with all these nations on behalf of the liberty of the world.

THROUGH TERROR TO TRIUMPH

Delivered by LLOYD GEORGE

Queens Hall, London, September 19, 1914

WHY OUR NATIONAL HONOR IS INVOLVED

THERE is no man who has always regarded the prospect of engaging in a great war with greater reluctance and with greater repugnance than I have done throughout the whole of my political life. There is no man more convinced that we could not have avoided it without national dishonor.

I am fully alive to the fact that every nation who has ever engaged in any war has always invoked the sacred name of honor. Many a crime has been committed in its name; there are some being committed now. All the same, national honor is a reality, and any nation that disregards it is doomed.

Why is our honor as a country involved in this war? Because, in the first instance, we are

bound by honorable obligations to defend the independence, the liberty, the integrity, of a small neighbor who has always lived peaceably. She could not have compelled us; she was weak; but the man who declines to discharge his duty because his creditor is too poor to enforce it is a blackguard. We entered into a treaty — a solemn treaty — two treaties — to defend Belgium and her integrity. Our signatures are attached to the documents. Our signatures do not stand alone there; this country was not the only country that undertook to defend the integrity of Belgium. Russia, France, Austria, Prussia — they are all there. Why are Austria and Prussia not performing the obligations of their bond?

France and Belgium in 1870

It is suggested that when we quote this treaty it is purely an excuse on our part — it is our low craft and cunning to cloak our jealousy of a superior civilization that we are attempting to destroy. Our answer is the action we took in 1870. What was that? Mr. Gladstone was then Prime Minister. Lord Granville, I think, was then Foreign Secretary. I have never heard it laid to their charge that they were ever Jingoes. That treaty bound us then. We called upon the belligerent Powers to respect it. We called upon France, and we called upon Germany.

At that time, bear in mind, the greatest danger to Belgium came from France and not from Germany. We intervened to protect Belgium against France, exactly as we are doing now to protect her against Germany. We proceeded in exactly the same way. We invited both the belligerent Powers to state that they had no intention of violating Belgian territory.

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LLOYD GEORGE

What was the answer given by Bismarck? He said it was superfluous to ask Prussia such a question in view of the treaties in force. France gave a similar answer.

We received at that time the thanks of the Belgian people for our intervention in a very remarkable document. It is a document addressed by the municipality of Brussels to Queen Victoria after that intervention, and it reads:

"The great and noble people over whose destinies you preside has just given a further proof of its benevolent sentiments towards our coun-

try. . . . The voice of the English nation has been heard above the din of arms, and it has asserted the principles of justice and right. Next to the unalterable attachment of the Belgian people to their independence, the strongest sentiment which fills their hearts is that of an imperishable gratitude."

That was in 1870. Mark what followed. Three or four days after that document of thanks, a French army was wedged up against the Belgian frontier, every means of escape shut out by a ring of flame from Prussian cannon. There was one way of escape. What was that? Violating the neutrality of Belgium. What did they do? The French on that occasion preferred ruin and humiliation to the breaking of their bond.

The French Emperor, the French Marshals, a hundred thousand gallant Frenchmen in arms, preferred to be carried captive to the strange land of their enemies, rather than dishonor the name of their country. It was the last French Army in the field. Had they violated Belgian neutrality, the whole history of that war would have been changed, and yet, when it was the interest of France to break the treaty then, she did not do it.

"A Scrap of Paper"

It is the interest of Prussia to-day to break the treaty, and she has done it. She avows it with cynical contempt for every principle of justice. She says: "Treaties only bind you when it is your interest to keep them." "What is a treaty?" says the German Chancellor. "A scrap of paper."

Have you any £5 notes about you? I am not calling for them. Have you any of those neat little Treasury £1 notes? If you have, burn them; they are only scraps of paper. What are they made of? Rags. What are they worth? The whole credit of the British Empire.

Scraps of paper! I have been dealing with scraps of paper within the last month. One suddenly found the commerce of the world coming to a standstill. The machine had stopped. Why? I will tell you. We discovered — many of us for the first time, for I do not pretend that I do not know much more about the machinery of commerce to-day than I did six weeks ago, and there are many others like me — we discovered that the machinery of commerce was moved by bills of exchange.

I have seen some of them, wretched, crinkled, scrawled over, blotched, frowsy, and yet those wretched little scraps of paper move great ships

laden with thousands of tons of precious cargo from one end of the world to the other. What is the motive power behind them? The honor of commercial men.

Treaties are the currency of International statesmanship. Let us be fair: German merchants, German traders, have the reputation of being as upright and straightforward as any traders in the world, but if the currency of German commerce is to be debased to the level of that of her statesmanship, no trader from Shanghai to Valparaiso will ever look at a German signature again.

This doctrine of the scrap of paper, this doctrine which is proclaimed by Bernhardi, that treaties only bind a nation as long as it is to its interest, goes under the root of all public law. It is the straight road to barbarism. It is as if you were to remove the Magnetic Pole because it was in the way of a German cruiser. The whole navigation of the seas would become dangerous, difficult and impossible; and the whole machinery of civilization will break down if this doctrine wins in this war.

We are fighting against barbarism, and there is only one way of putting it right. If there are nations that say they will only respect treaties when it is to their interest to do so, we must make it to their interest to do so for the future.

Germany's Perjury

What is their defense? Consider the interview which took place between our Ambassador and the great German officials. When their attention was called to this treaty to which they were parties, they said: "We cannot help that. Rapidity of action is the great German asset." There is a greater asset for a nation than rapidity of action, and that is honest dealing.

What are Germany's excuses? She says Belgium was plotting against her; Belgium was engaged in a great conspiracy with Britain and with France to attack her. Not merely is it not true, but Germany knows it is not true.

What is her other excuse? That France meant to invade Germany through Belgium. That is absolutely untrue.

France offered Belgium five army corps to defend her if she were attacked. Belgium said: "I do not require them; I have the word of the Kaiser. Shall Caesar send a lie?"

All these tales about conspiracy have been vamped up since. A great nation ought to be ashamed to behave like a fraudulent bankrupt, perjuring its way through its obligations. What she says is not true. She had deliberately broken this treaty, and we were in honor bound to stand by it.

Belgium's "Crime"

Belgium has been treated brutally. How brutally we shall not yet know. We already know too much. But what had she done? Had she sent an ultimatum to Germany? Had she challenged Germany? Was she preparing to make war on Germany? Has she inflicted any wrong upon Germany which the Kaiser was bound to redress?

She was one of the most unoffending little countries in Europe. There she was — peaceable, industrious, thrifty, hard-working, giving offense to no one. And her cornfields have been trampled, her villages have been burnt, her art treasures have been destroyed, her men have been slaughtered — yea, and her women and children, too. Hundreds and thousands of her people, their neat, comfortable little homes burnt to the dust, are wandering homeless in their own land.

What was their crime? Their crime was that they trusted to the word of a Prussian King. I do not know what the Kaiser hopes to achieve by this war. I have a shrewd idea what he will get; but one thing he has made certain, and that is that no nation will ever commit that crime again.

"The Right to Defend Its Homes"

I am not going to enter into details of outrages. War is a grim, ghastly business at best or at worst, and I am not going to say that all that has been said in the way of outrages must necessarily be true.

I will go beyond that, and I will say that if you turn two million men — forced, conscript, compelled, driven — into the field, you will always get amongst them a certain number who will do things that the nation to which they belong would be ashamed of.

I am not depending on these tales. It is enough for me to have the story which Germans themselves avow, admit, defend and proclaim — the burning and massacring, the shooting down of harmless people. Why? Because, according to the Germans, these people fired on German soldiers.

What business had German soldiers there at all? Belgium was acting in pursuance of the most sacred right, the right to defend its homes. But they were not in uniform when they fired!

If a burglar broke into the Kaiser's Palace at Potsdam, destroyed his furniture, killed his servants, ruined his art treasures — especially those he had made himself — and burned the precious manuscripts of his speeches, do you think he would wait until he got into uniform before he

shot him down? The Belgians were dealing with those who had broken into their household.

But the perfidy of the Germans has already failed. They entered Belgium to save time. The time has gone. They have not gained time, but they have lost their good name.

The Case of Serbia

But Belgium is not the only little nation that has been attacked in this war, and I make no excuse for referring to the case of the other little nation, the case of Serbia.

The history of Serbia is not unblotted. Whose history, in the category of nations, is unblotted? The first nation that is without sin, let her cast a stone at Serbia. She was a nation trained in a horrible school, but she won her freedom with a tenacious valor, and she has maintained it by the same courage.

If any Serbians were mixed up in the assassination of the Grand Duke, they ought to be punished. Serbia admits that. The Serbian Government had nothing to do with it. Not even Austria claims that. The Serbian Prime Minister is one of the most capable and honored men in Europe. Serbia was willing to punish any one of her subjects who had been proved to have any complicity in that assassination. What more could you expect?

What were the Austrian demands? Serbia sympathized with her fellow-countrymen in Bosnia — that was one of her crimes. She must do so no more. Her newspapers were saying nasty things about Austria: they must do so no longer.

That is the German spirit; you had it in Zabern. How dare you criticize a Prussian official? And if you laugh, it is a capital offense — the colonel in Zabern threatened to shoot if it was repeated. In the same way the Serbian newspapers must not criticize Austria. I wonder what would have happened if we had taken the same line about German newspapers!

Serbia said: "Very well, we will give orders to the newspapers that they must in future criticize neither Austria, nor Hungary, nor anything that is theirs." Who can doubt the valor of Serbia, when she undertook to tackle her newspaper editors? She promised not to sympathize with Bosnia; she promised to write no critical articles about Austria; she would have no public meetings in which anything unkind was said about Austria.

"Serbia Faced the Situation with Dignity"

But that was not enough. She must dismiss from her army the officers whom Austria should subsequently name — those officers who had just

emerged from a war where they had added luster to the Serbian arms. They were gallant, brave and efficient. I wonder whether it was their guilt or their efficiency that prompted Austria's action!

But, mark you, the officers were not named; Serbia was to undertake in advance to dismiss them from the army, the names to be sent in subsequently. Can you name a country in the world that would have stood that?

Supposing Austria or Germany had issued an ultimatum of that kind to this country, saying, "You must dismiss from your Army — and from your Navy — all those officers whom we shall subsequently name."

Well, I think I could name them now. Lord Kitchener would go. Sir John French would be sent away; General Smith-Dorrien would go, and I am sure that Sir John Jellicoe would have to go. And there is another gallant old warrior who would go — Lord Roberts.

It was a difficult situation for a small country. Here was a demand made upon her by a great military Power that could have put half-a-dozen men in the field for every one of Serbia's men, and that Power was supported by the greatest military Power in the world.

How did Serbia behave? It is not what happens to you in life that matters; it is the way

in which you face it — and Serbia faced the situation with dignity. She said to Austria: "If any officers of mine have been guilty, and are proved to be guilty, I will dismiss them." Austria said: "That is not good enough for me." It was not guilt she was after, but capacity.

Russia's Turn

Then came Russia's turn. Russia has a special regard for Serbia; she has a special interest in Serbia. Russians have shed their blood for Serbian independence many a time, for Serbia is a member of Russia's family, and she cannot see Serbia maltreated.

Austria knew that, Germany knew it, and she turned round to Russia, and said: "I insist that you shall stand by with your arms folded whilst Austria is strangling your little brother to death."

What answer did the Russian Slav give? He gave the only answer that becomes man. He turned to Austria, and said: "You lay hands on that little fellow, and I will tear your ramshackle Empire limb from limb." And he will do it!

The Little Nations

That is the story of two little nations. The world owes much to little nations — and to little men! This theory of bigness, this theory that

you must have a *big* Empire, and a *big* nation, and a *big* man — well, long legs have their advantage in a retreat. Frederick the First chose his warriors for their height, and that tradition has become a policy in Germany. Germany applies that ideal to nations, and will only allow six-foot-two nations to stand in the ranks.

But ah! the world owes much to the little five-foot-five nations. The greatest art in the world was the work of little nations; the most enduring literature of the world came from little nations; the greatest literature of England came when she was a nation of the size of Belgium fighting a great Empire. The heroic deeds that thrill humanity through generations were the deeds of little nations fighting for their freedom.

Yes, and the salvation of mankind came through a little nation. God has chosen little nations as the vessels by which He carries His choicest wines to the lips of humanity, to rejoice their hearts, to exalt their vision, to stimulate and strengthen their faith; and if we had stood by when two little nations were being crushed and broken by the brutal hands of barbarism, our shame would have rung down the everlasting ages.

"The Test of Our Faith"

But Germany insists that this is an attack by a lower civilization upon a higher one. As a matter of fact, the attack was begun by the civilization which calls itself the higher one.

I am no apologist for Russia: she has perpetrated deeds of which I have no doubt her best sons are ashamed. What Empire has not? But Germany is the last Empire to point the finger of reproach at Russia.

Russia has made sacrifices for freedom — great sacrifices. Do you remember the cry of Bulgaria when she was torn by the most insensate tyranny that Europe has ever seen? Who listened to that cry? The only answer of the higher civilization was that the liberty of the Bulgarian peasants was not worth the life of a single Pomeranian soldier. But the rude barbarians of the North sent their sons by the thousand to die for Bulgarian freedom.

What about England? Go to Greece, the Netherlands, Italy, Germany, France — in all those lands I could point out places where the sons of Britain have died for the freedom of those peoples.

France has made sacrifices for the freedom of other lands than her own. Can you name a single country in the world for the freedom of

which modern Prussia has ever sacrificed a single life? By the test of our faith, the highest standard of civilization is the readiness to sacrifice for others.

German "Civilization"

I will not say a single word in disparagement of the German people. They are a great people, and have great qualities of head and hand and heart. I believe in spite of recent events, that there is as great a store of kindliness in the German peasant as in any peasant in the world; but he has been drilled into a false idea of civilization. It is efficient, it is capable; but it is a hard civilization; it is a selfish civilization; it is a material civilization.

They cannot comprehend the action of Britain at the present moment; they say so. They say, "France we can understand; she is out for vengeance; she is out for territory — Alsace and Lorraine." They say they can understand Russia; she is fighting for mastery — she wants Galicia. They can understand you fighting for vengeance — they can understand you fighting for mastery — they can understand you fighting for greed of territory; but they cannot understand a great Empire pledging its resources, pledging its might, pledging the lives of its chil-

dren, pledging its very existence, to protect a little nation that seeks to defend herself.

God made man in His own image, high of purpose, in the region of the spirit; German civilization would re-create him in the image of a Diesel machine — precise, accurate, powerful, but with no room for soul to operate.

Philosophy of Blood and Iron

Have you read the Kaiser's speeches? If you have not a copy I advise you to buy one; they will soon be out of print, and you will not have many more of the same sort. They are full of the glitter and bluster of German militarism — "mailed fist," and "shining armor." Poor old mailed fist! Its knuckles are getting a little bruised. Poor shining armor! The shine is being knocked out of it.

There is the same swagger and boastfulness running through the whole of the speeches. The extract which was given in the *British Weekly* this week is a very remarkable product as an illustration of the spirit we have to fight. It is the Kaiser's speech to his soldiers on the way to the front:

"Remember that the German people are the chosen of God. On me, the German Emperor, the Spirit of God has descended. I am His

sword, His weapon, and His vicegerent. Woe to the disobedient, and death to cowards and unbelievers."

Lunacy is always distressing, but sometimes it is dangerous; and when you get it manifested in the head of the State, and it has become the policy of a great Empire, it is about time that it should be ruthlessly put away.

I do not believe he meant all those speeches; it was simply the martial straddle he had acquired. But there were men around him who meant every word of them. This was their religion.

Treaties? They tangle the feet of Germany in her advance. Cut them with the sword! Little nations? They hinder the advance of Germany. Trample them in the mire under the German heel! The Russian Slav? He challenges the supremacy of Germany and Europe. Hurl your legions at him and massacre him! Britain? She is a constant menace to the predominancy of Germany in the world. Wrest the trident out of her hand! Christianity? Sickly sentimentalism about sacrifice for others! Poor pap for German digestion! We will have a new diet. We will force it upon the world. It will be made in Germany — a diet of blood and iron.

What remains? Treaties have gone. The honor of nations has gone. Liberty has gone.

What is left? Germany! Germany is left! — "Deutschland über Alles!"

That is what we are fighting — that claim to predominancy of a material, hard civilization, a civilization which if it once rules and sways the world, liberty goes, democracy vanishes. And unless Britain and her sons come to the rescue it will be a dark day for humanity.

We are not fighting the German people. The German people are under the heel of this military caste, and it will be a day of rejoicing for the German peasant, artisan and trader when the military caste is broken.

You know its pretensions. They give themselves the airs of demi-gods. They walk the pavements, and civilians and their wives are swept into the gutter; they have no right to stand in the way of a great Prussian soldier. Men, women, nations — they all have to go.

He thinks all he has to say is, "We are in a hurry." That is the answer he gave to Belgium — "Rapidity of action is Germany's greatest asset," which means, "I am in a hurry; clear out of my way."

You know the type of motorist, the terror of the roads, with a 60 horse-power car, who thinks the roads are made for him, and knocks down anybody who impedes the action of his car by a single mile an hour. The Prussian Junker is the

road-hog of Europe. Small nationalities in his way are hurled to the roadside, bleeding and broken. Women and children are crushed under the wheels of his cruel car, and Britain is ordered out of his road.

All I can say is this; if the old British spirit is alive in British hearts, that bully will be torn from his seat. Were he to win, it would be the greatest catastrophe that has befallen democracy since the day of the Holy Alliance and its ascendency.

"Through Terror to Triumph"

They think we cannot beat them. It will not be easy. It will be a long job; it will be a terrible war; but in the end we shall march through terror to triumph. We shall need all our qualities — every quality that Britain and its people possess — prudence in counsel, daring in action, tenacity in purpose, courage in defeat, moderation in victory; in all things faith!

It has pleased them to believe and to preach the belief that we are a decadent and degenerate people. They proclaim to the world through their professors that we are a non-heroic nation skulking behind our mahogany counters, whilst we egg on more gallant races to their destruction. This is the description given of us in Ger-

many, "a timorous, craven nation, trusting to its Fleet." I think they are beginning to find their mistake out already — and there are half a million young men of Britain who have already registered a vow to their King that they will cross the seas and hurl that insult to British courage against its perpetrators on the battle-fields of France and Germany. We want half a million more; and we shall get them.

"A Welsh Army in the Field"

Wales must continue doing her duty. I should like to see a Welsh Army in the field. I should like to see the race that faced the Norman for hundreds of years in a struggle for freedom, the race that helped to win Crecy, the race that fought for a generation under Glendower against the greatest captain in Europe — I should like to see that race give a good taste of its quality in this struggle in Europe; and they are going to do it.

The Sacrifice

I envy you young people your opportunity. They have put up the age limit for the Army, but I am sorry to say I have marched a good many years even beyond that. It is a great opportunity, an opportunity that only comes

once in many centuries to the children of men.

For most generations sacrifice comes in drab and weariness of spirit. It comes to you to-day, and it comes to-day to us all, in the form of the glow and thrill of a great movement for liberty, that impels millions throughout Europe to the same noble end. It is a great war for the emancipation of Europe from the thraldom of a military caste which has thrown its shadows upon two generations of men, and is now plunging the world into a welter of bloodshed and death.

Some have already given their lives. There are some who have given more than their own lives; they have given the lives of those who are dear to them. I honor their courage, and may God be their comfort and their strength. But their reward is at hand; those who have fallen have died consecrated deaths. They have taken their part in the making of a new Europe — a new world. I can see signs of its coming in the glare of the battlefield.

The "New Patriotism"

The people will gain more by this struggle in all lands than they comprehend at the present moment. It is true they will be free of the greatest menace to their freedom. That is not

all. There is something infinitely greater and more enduring which is emerging already out of this great conflict — a new patriotism, richer, nobler, and more exalted than the old.

I see amongst all classes, high and low, shedding themselves of selfishness, a new recognition that the honor of the country does not depend merely on the maintenance of its glory in the stricken field but also in protecting its homes from distress. It is bringing a new outlook for all classes. The great flood of luxury and sloth which had submerged the land is receding, and a new Britain is appearing. We can see for the first time the fundamental things that matter in life, and that have been obscured from our vision by the tropical growth of prosperity.

"The Vision"

May I tell you in a simple parable what I think this war is doing for us? I know a valley in North Wales, between the mountains and the sea. It is a beautiful valley, snug, comfortable, sheltered by the mountains from all the bitter blasts. But it is very enervating, and I remember how the boys were in the habit of climbing the hill above the village to have a glimpse of the great mountains in the distance, and to be stimulated and freshened by the breezes which come

from the hilltops, and by the spectacle of their grandeur.

We have been living in a sheltered valley for generations. We have been too comfortable and too indulgent, many, perhaps, too selfish, and the stern hand of fate has scourged us to an elevation where we can see the everlasting things that matter for a nation — the great peaks we had forgotten, of Honor, Duty, Patriotism, and, clad in glittering white, the towering pinnacle of Sacrifice pointing like a rugged finger to Heaven.

We shall descend into the valleys again; but as long as the men and women of this generation last, they will carry in their hearts the image of those mighty peaks whose foundations are not shaken, though Europe rock and sway in the convulsions of a great war.

THE OLD FLAG FOREVER

SHE's up there — Old Glory — where lightnings are sped;
She dazzles the nations with ripples of red;
And she'll wave for us living, or droop o'er us dead —
The flag of our country forever!

She's up there — Old Glory — how bright the stars stream!
And the stripes like red signals of liberty gleam!
And we dare for her, living, or dream the last dream
'Neath the flag of our country forever!

She's up there — Old Glory — no tyrant-dealt scars
Nor blur on her brightness, no stain on her stars!
The brave blood of heroes hath crimsoned her bars.
She's the flag of our country forever!

FRANK L. STANTON

WILSON'S BUGLE CALL OF 1917

AMERICANS should be proud of the noble words of President Woodrow Wilson in his address to the Congress of the United States on April 2, 1917. The great war had been raging in Europe, in Asia, in Africa, on the Atlantic and on the Pacific for nearly three years. Obeying the injunction of George Washington in his Farewell Address, our government had made all possible efforts to keep from entangling alliances, and to retain its position as the leader of the neutral nations.

Germany, led by Kaiser William and the heads of the army and navy, had sunk the *Lusitania*, drowning helpless American women and children. Her official representatives in this country had tried to stir up trouble for us. They had tried to get Mexico and Japan to make common cause against us. They denied the freedom of the seas by sinking neutral vessels. Then they promised to reform, but the promise was only for the purpose of gaining time so that submarine warfare could be made more frightful than before.

The issue was clear. The United States must take part in the vast struggle to make the world safe for democracy, or it must submit to unjust oppression which no free people could endure.

Wilson, in this speech, took up the bugle which had been sounded by Washington, Patrick Henry, Webster, Benjamin Franklin and Abraham Lincoln, and again the call to Americans to defend liberty and democracy rang through the world.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S MESSAGE

Delivered April 2, 1917

GENTLEMEN OF CONGRESS:

I HAVE called the Congress into extraordinary session because there are serious, very serious, choices of policy to be made and made immediately, which it was neither right nor constitutionally permissible that I should assume the responsibility of making.

On the third of February last I officially laid before you the extraordinary announcement of the Imperial German Government that on and after the first day of February it was its purpose to put aside all restraints of law or of humanity and use its submarines to sink every vessel that sought to approach either the ports of Great Britain and Ireland, or the western coasts of Europe, or any of the ports controlled by the enemies of Germany within the Mediterranean. That had seemed to be the object of the German submarine warfare earlier in the war, but since April of last year the Imperial Government had somewhat restrained the commanders of its undersea craft in conformity with its promise then given to us that passenger-boats should not be sunk and that due warning would be given to all

other vessels which its submarines might seek to destroy when no resistance was offered or escape attempted, and care taken that their crews were given at least a fair chance to save their lives in their open boats. The precautions taken were meagre and haphazard enough, as was proved in distressing instance after instance in the progress of the cruel and unmanly business, but a certain degree of restraint was observed.

Germany's Ruthless Policy

The new policy has swept every restriction aside. Vessels of every kind, whatever their flag, their character, their cargo, their destination, their errand, have been ruthlessly sent to the bottom without warning, and without thought of help or mercy for those on board, the vessels of friendly neutrals along with those of belligerents. Even hospital-ships and ships carrying relief to the sorely bereaved and stricken people of Belgium, though the latter were provided with safe conduct through the prescribed areas by the German Government itself and were distinguished by unmistakable marks of identity, have been sunk with the same reckless lack of compassion or of principle.

I was for a little while unable to believe that such things would, in fact, be done by any govern-

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WOODROW WILSON

ment that had hitherto subscribed to the humane practices of civilized nations. International law had its origin in the attempt to set up some law which would be respected and observed upon the seas where no nation had right of dominion, and where lay the free highways of the world. By painful stage after stage has that law been built up, with meagre enough results indeed, after all was accomplished that could be accomplished, but always with a clear view, at least, of what the heart and conscience of mankind demanded.

This minimum of right the German Government has swept aside under the plea of retaliation and necessity and because it had no weapons which it could use at sea except those which it is impossible to employ as it is employing them without throwing to the winds all scruples of humanity or of respect for the understandings that were supposed to underlie the intercourse of the world. I am not now thinking of the loss of property involved, immense and serious as that is, but only of the wanton and wholesale destruction of the lives of non-combatants, men, women, and children, engaged in pursuits which have always, even in the darkest periods of modern history, been deemed innocent and legitimate. Property can be paid for; the lives of peaceful and innocent people cannot be.

German Warfare against Mankind

The present German submarine warfare against commerce is a warfare against mankind.

It is a war against all nations. American ships have been sunk, American lives taken, in ways which it has stirred us very deeply to learn of, but the ships and people of other neutral and friendly nations have been sunk and overwhelmed in the waters in the same way. There has been no discrimination. The challenge is to all mankind. Each nation must decide for itself how it will meet it. The choice we make for ourselves must be made with a moderation of counsel and a temperateness of judgment befitting our character and our motives as a nation. We must put excited feeling away. Our motive will not be revenge or the victorious assertion of the physical might of the nation, but only the vindication of right, of human right, of which we are only a single champion.

When I addressed the Congress on the twenty-sixth of February last I thought that it would suffice to assert our neutral rights with arms, our right to use the seas against unlawful interference, our right to keep our people safe against unlawful violence. But armed neutrality, it now appears, is impracticable. Because submarines are in effect outlaws when used as the German

submarines have been used against merchant shipping, it is impossible to defend ships against their attacks as the law of nations has assumed that merchantmen would defend themselves

WHEN PRESIDENT WILSON WAS INAUGURATED

against privateers or cruisers, visible craft giving chase upon the open sea.

It is common prudence, in such circumstances, grim necessity indeed, to endeavor to destroy them before they have shown their own intention. They must be dealt with upon sight, if dealt with at all. The German Government denies the right of neutrals to use arms at all within the areas of the sea which it has pro-

scribed, even in the defense of rights which no modern publicist has ever before questioned their right to defend.

The intimation is conveyed that the armed guards which we have placed on our merchant ships will be treated as beyond the pale of law and subject to be dealt with as pirates would be.

Armed neutrality is ineffectual enough at best; in such circumstances and in the face of such pretensions it is worse than ineffectual; it is likely only to produce what it was meant to prevent; it is practically certain to draw us into the war without either the rights or the effectiveness of belligerents.

There is one choice we cannot make, we are incapable of making: we will not choose the path of submission and suffer the most sacred rights of our nation and our people to be ignored or violated. The wrongs against which we now array ourselves are no common wrongs; they cut to the very roots of human life.

War Thrust Upon Us

With a profound sense of the solemn and even tragical character of the step I am taking and of the grave responsibilities which it involves, but in unhesitating obedience to what I deem my constitutional duty, I advise that the Congress declare the recent course of the Imperial

German Government to be in fact nothing less than war against the government and people of the United States; that it formally accept the status of belligerent which has thus been thrust upon it; and that it take immediate steps not only to put the country in a more thorough state of defense, but also to exert all its power and employ all its resources to bring the government of the German Empire to terms and end the war.

What This Means

What this will involve is clear. It will involve the utmost practicable co-operation in counsel and action with the governments now at war with Germany, and, as incident to that, the extension to those governments of the most liberal financial credits in order that our resources may, so far as possible, be added to theirs. It will involve the organization and mobilization of all the material resources of the country to supply the materials of war and serve the incidental needs of the nation in the most abundant, and yet the most economical and efficient way possible.

It will involve the immediate full equipment of the navy in all respects, but particularly in supplying it with the best means of dealing with the enemy's submarines. It will involve the immediate addition to the armed forces of the United

States already provided for by law in case of war, at least 500,000 men, who should, in my opinion, be chosen upon the principle of universal liability to service, and also the authorization of subsequent additional increments of equal force so soon as they may be needed and can be handled in training.

It will involve also, of course, the granting of adequate credits to the Government, sustained, I hope, so far as they can equitably be sustained by the present generation, by well conceived taxation. I say sustained so far as may be equitable by taxation because it seems to me that it would be most unwise to base the credits which will now be necessary entirely on money borrowed. It is our duty, I most respectfully urge, to protect our people so far as we may against the very serious hardships and evils which would be likely to arise out of the inflation which would be produced by vast loans.

In carrying out the measures by which these things are to be accomplished, we should keep constantly in mind the wisdom of interfering as little as possible in our own preparation and in the equipment of our own military forces with the duty — for it will be a very practical duty — of supplying the nations already at war with Germany with the materials which they can obtain only from us or by our assistance. They are

in the field and we should help them in every way to be effective there.

I shall take the liberty of suggesting, through the several executive departments of the Government, for the consideration of your committees, measures for the accomplishment of the several objects I have mentioned. I hope that it will be your pleasure to deal with them as having been framed after very careful thought by the branch of the Government upon which the responsibility of conducting the war and safeguarding the nation will most directly fall.

Our Motives and Objects

While we do these things, these deeply momentous things, let us be very clear and make very clear to all the world what our motives and our objects are. My own thought has not been driven from its habitual and normal course by the unhappy events of the last two months, and I do not believe that the thought of the nation has been altered or clouded by them.

I have exactly the same things in mind now that I had in mind when I addressed the Senate on the twenty-second of January last; the same that I had in mind when I addressed the Congress on the third of February and on the twenty-sixth of February. Our object now, as then, is to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of

the world as against selfish and autocratic power, and to set up amongst the really free and self-governed peoples of the world such a concert of pur-

THE WHITE HOUSE FROM THE NORTH

pose and of action as will henceforth insure the observance of those principles.

Neutrality is no longer feasible or desirable where the peace of the world is involved and the freedom of its peoples, and the menace to that peace and freedom lies in the existence of autocratic governments backed by organized force which is controlled wholly by their will, not by the will of their people. We have seen the last of neutrality in such circumstances.

We are at the beginning of an age in which it

will be insisted that the same standards of conduct and of responsibility for wrong done shall be observed among nations and their governments that are observed among the individual citizens of civilized states.

We have no quarrel with the German people. We have no feeling towards them but one of sympathy and friendship. It was not upon their impulse that their Government acted in entering this war. It was not with their previous knowledge or approval.

It was a war determined upon as wars used to be determined upon in the old, unhappy days when peoples were nowhere consulted by their rulers and wars were provoked and waged in the interests of dynasties or of little groups of ambitious men who were accustomed to use their fellow men as pawns and tools.

Self-governed nations do not fill their neighbor states with spies or set the course of intrigue to bring about some critical posture of affairs which will give them an opportunity to strike and make conquest. Such designs can be successfully worked out only under cover and where no one has the right to ask questions.

Cunningly contrived plans of deception or aggression, carried, it may be, from generation to generation, can be worked out and kept from the light only within the privacy of courts or behind

the carefully guarded confidences of a narrow and privileged class. They are happily impossible where public opinion commands and insists upon full information concerning all the nation's affairs.

Peace Through Free Peoples

A steadfast concert for peace can never be maintained except by a partnership of democratic nations. No autocratic government could be trusted to keep faith within it or observe its covenants.

It must be a league of honor, a partnership of opinion. Intrigue would eat its vitals away; the plottings of inner circles who could plan what they would and render account to no one would be a corruption seated at its very heart. Only free peoples can hold their purpose and their honor steady to a common end and prefer the interests of mankind to any narrow interest of their own.

Does not every American feel that assurance has been added to our hope for the future peace of the world by the wonderful and heartening things that have been happening within the last few weeks in Russia?

Russia was known by those who knew it best to have been always in fact democratic at heart, in all the vital habits of her thought, in all the intimate relationships of her people that spoke

their natural instinct, their habitual attitude towards life.

The autocracy that crowned the summit of her political structure, long as it had stood and terrible as was the reality of its power, was not in fact Russian in origin, character, or purpose, and now it has been shaken off and the great generous Russian people have been added in all their native majesty and might to the forces that are fighting for freedom in the world, for justice and for peace. Here is a fit partner for a League of Honor.

One of the things that has served to convince us that the Prussian autocracy was not and could never be our friend is that from the very outset of the present war it has filled our unsuspecting communities, and even our offices of government, with spies, and set criminal intrigues everywhere afoot against our national unity of counsel, our peace within and without, our industries and our commerce.

Indeed, it is now evident that its spies were here even before the war began; and it is, unhappily, not a matter of conjecture but a fact proved in our courts of justice that the intrigues which have more than once come perilously near to disturbing the peace and dislocating the industries of the country have been carried on at the instigation, with the support, and even under the

personal direction of official agents of the Imperial German Government accredited to the Government of the United States.

Even in checking these things and trying to extirpate them we have sought to put the most generous interpretation possible upon them, because we knew that their source lay, not in any hostile feeling or purpose of the German people towards us (who were, no doubt, as ignorant of them as we ourselves were), but only in the selfish designs of a Government that did what it pleased and told its people nothing. But they have played their part in serving to convince us at last that that Government entertains no real friendship for us and means to act against our peace and security at its convenience.

That it means to stir up enemies against us at our very doors the intercepted note to the German Minister at Mexico City is eloquent evidence.

Accepting the Challenge

We are accepting this challenge of hostile purpose because we know that in such a government, following such methods, we can never have a friend; and that in the presence of its organized power, always lying in wait to accomplish we know not what purpose, there can be no assured security for the democratic governments of the world.

We are now about to accept gage of battle

with this natural foe to liberty, and shall, if necessary, spend the whole force of the nation to check and nullify its pretensions and its power. We are glad, now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretense about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, the German people included; for the rights of nations, great and small, and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience. The world must be made safe for democracy; its peace must be planted upon tested foundations of political liberty.

We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of the nations can make them.

Just because we fight without rancor and without selfish object, seeking nothing for ourselves but what we shall wish to share with all free peoples, we shall, I feel confident, conduct our operations as belligerents without passion and ourselves observe with proud punctilio the principles of right and of fair play we profess to be fighting for.

I have said nothing of the governments allied

with the Imperial Government of Germany because they have not made war upon us or challenged us to defend our right and our honor. The Austro-Hungarian Government has, indeed, avowed its unqualified indorsement and acceptance of the reckless and lawless submarine warfare adopted now without disguise by the Imperial German Government, and it has, therefore, not been possible for this Government to receive Count Tarnowski, the Ambassador recently accredited to this Government by the Imperial and Royal Government of Austria-Hungary; but that Government has not actually engaged in warfare against citizens of the United States on the seas, and I take the liberty, for the present at least, of postponing a discussion of our relations with the authorities at Vienna.

Opposition to the German Government Friendship Toward the German People

We enter this war only where we are clearly forced into it because there are no other means of defending our rights.

It will be all the easier for us to conduct ourselves as belligerents in a high spirit of right and fairness because we act without animus, not in enmity towards a people or with the desire to bring any injury or disadvantage upon them, but only in armed opposition to an irresponsible

Government which has thrown aside all considerations of humanity and of right and is running amuck.

We are, let me say again, the sincere friends of the German people, and shall desire nothing so much as the early re-establishment of intimate relations of mutual advantage between us, however hard it may be for them, for the time being, to believe that this is spoken from our hearts. We have borne with their present government through all these bitter months because of that friendship — exercising a patience and forbearance which would otherwise have been impossible.

We shall, happily, still have an opportunity to prove that friendship in our daily attitude and actions toward the millions of men and women of German birth and native sympathy who live amongst us and share our life, and we shall be proud to prove it towards all who are in fact loyal to their neighbors and to the Government in the hour of test. They are, most of them, as true and loyal Americans as if they had never known any other fealty or allegiance. They will be prompt to stand with us in rebuking and restraining the few who may be of a different mind and purpose.

If there should be disloyalty, it will be dealt with with a firm hand of stern repression; but, if it lifts its head at all, it will lift it only here

THE UNITED STATES CAPITOL

Where President Wilson Delivered His Message of April 2, 1917

and there and without countenance except from a lawless and malignant few.

Right More Precious than Peace

It is a distressing and oppressive duty, gentlemen of the Congress, which I have performed in thus addressing you. There are, it may be, many months of fiery trial and sacrifice ahead of us. It is a fearful thing to lead this great peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance. But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts — for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free.

To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other.

LANSING LOOKS TO THE FUTURE

After the little war of 1898 — little in its cost but great in its results — the United States returned to the ways of peace, and the beginning of the great war in Europe found us with a very small army. When we entered the conflict we had to build up a mighty army in the shortest possible time. Then, too, we had to train young men to be officers in this new army. So camps were established where these men could drill by day and study at night. Four months after a state of war was declared by Congress, the young officers at Madison Barracks, New York State, were ready.

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ROBERT LANSING

Robert Lansing, Secretary of State, made an address to these young men just before they finished their training. In that address he said one very important thing which all Americans and all free people everywhere should remember: that peace and self-government go hand in hand, that there can be no hope of lasting peace when such a government as that of Kaiser Wilhelm II is in existence, and that the only

way to restore peace to the world was by defeating German Imperialism.

The European War, in other words, has become an American War as well, and the main object of our entering the war was to make such wars impossible forever.

DEMOCRACY AND PEACE

ADDRESS BY SECRETARY OF STATE ROBERT LANSING BEFORE THE RESERVE OFFICERS' TRAINING CORPS AT MADISON BARRACKS, NEW YORK

July 29, 1917

IT is an opportunity which I greatly appreciate to be here this evening and to say a few words to you about the great enterprise in which you are to be participants. There are so many things to be said, so many viewpoints, that it is hard to know how to deal with the subject in a way that will appeal to the greatest number.

First, we must all realize that we are living in the most momentous time in all history, in a time when the lives and destinies of nations are in the balance, when even the civilization, which has taken centuries to build, may crumble before the terrible storm which is sweeping over Europe. We are not only living in this critical period but we, as a nation, have become a participant in the struggle. Having cast our lot

on the side of the powers allied against the Imperial German Government we will put behind our decision the full power and the resources of the Republic. We intend to win in this mighty conflict, and we will win because our cause is the cause of justice and of right and of humanity.

I wonder how many of us comprehend what the outcome of this war means to mankind, or to bring it nearer to each one of us, what it means to our country. I sometimes think that there prevail very erroneous impressions as to the reasons why we entered the war, not the immediate reasons, but the deep underlying reasons which affect the life and future of the United States and of all other liberty-loving nations throughout the world.

Of course the immediate cause of our war against Germany was the announced purpose of the German Government to break its promises as to indiscriminate submarine warfare and the subsequent renewal of that ruthless method of destruction with increased vigor and brutality.

While this cause was in itself sufficient to force us to enter the war if we would preserve our self-respect, the German Government's deliberate breach of faith and its utter disregard of right and life had a far deeper meaning, a meaning which had been growing more evident as the war had progressed and which needed but this

act of perfidy to bring it home to all thinking Americans. The evil character of the German Government is laid bare before the world. We know now that that Government is inspired with ambitions which menace human liberty, and that to gain its end it does not hesitate to break faith, to violate the most sacred rights, or to perpetrate intolerable acts of inhumanity.

It needed but the words reported to have been uttered by the German Chancellor to complete the picture of the character of his Government when he announced that the only reason why the intensified submarine campaign was delayed until February last was that sufficient submarines could not be built before that time to make the attacks on commerce efficient. Do you realize that this means, if it means anything, that the promises to refrain from brutal submarine warfare, which Germany had made to the United States, were never intended to be kept, that they were only made in order to gain time in which to build more submarines, and that when the time came to act the German promises were unhesitatingly torn to pieces like other "Scraps of paper"?

It is this disclosure of the character of the Imperial German Government which is the underlying cause of our entry into the war. We had doubted, or at least many Americans had

doubted, the evil purposes of the rulers of Germany. Doubt remained no longer. In the light of events we could read the past and see that for a quarter of a century the absorbing ambition of the military oligarchy which was the master of the German Empire was for world-dominion. Every agency in the fields of commerce, industry, science and diplomacy had been directed by the German Government to this supreme end. Philosophers and preachers taught that the destiny of Germany was to rule the world, thus preparing the mind of the German people for the time when the mighty engine which the German Government had constructed should crush all opposition and the German Emperor should rule supreme.

For nearly three years we have watched the conduct of the Imperial Government, and we have learned more and more of the character of that Goverment and of its aims. We came very slowly to a realizing sense that not only was the freedom of the European nations at stake, but that liberty throughout the world was threatened by the powerful autocracy which was seeking to gratify its vast ambition.

Not impulsively but with deliberation the American people reached the only decision which was possible from the standpoint of their own national safety. Congress declared that a state of war existed between the United States and

the Imperial Government of Germany, and this country united with the other liberal nations of the earth to crush the power which sought to erect on the ruins of democracy a World Empire greater than that of Greece or Rome or the Caliphs.

The President has said, with the wonderful ability which he has to express aptly a great thought in a single phrase, that "the world must be made safe for democracy." In that thought there is more than the establishment of liberty and self-government for all nations; there is in it the hope of an enduring peace.

I do not know in the annals of history an instance where a people, with truly democratic institutions, permitted their government to wage a war of aggression, a war of conquest. Faithful to their treaties, sympathetic with others seeking self-development, real democracies, whether monarchical or republican in their forms of government, desire peace with their neighbors and with all mankind.

Were every people on earth able to express their will there would be no wars of aggression, and, if there were no wars of aggression, then there would be no wars, and lasting peace would come to this earth. The only way that a people can express their will is through democratic institutions. Therefore, when the world is made safe

for democracy, when that great principle prevails, universal peace will be an accomplished fact.

No nation or people will benefit more than the United States when that time comes. But it has not yet come. A great people, ruled in thought and word, as well as in deed, by the most sinister government of modern times, is straining every nerve to supplant democracy by the autocracy which they have been taught to worship. When will the German people awaken to the truth? When will they arise in their might and cast off the yoke and become their own masters? I fear that it will not be until the physical might of the united democracies of the world have destroyed forever the evil ambitions of the military rulers of Germany and liberty triumphs over its arch-enemy.

And yet in spite of these truths which have been brought to light in these last three years I wonder how many Americans feel that *our* democracy is in peril, that *our* liberty needs protection, that the United States is in *real* danger from the malignant forces which are seeking to impose their will upon the world, as they have upon Germany and her deceived allies.

Let us understand once for all that this is no war to establish an abstract principle of right. It is a war in which the future of the United States is at stake. If any among you have the

idea that we are fighting others' battles and not our own, the sooner he gets away from that idea the better it will be for him, the better it will be for all of us.

Imagine Germany victor in Europe because the United States remained neutral. Who then, think you, would be the next victim of those who are seeking to be masters of the whole earth? Would not this country with its enormous wealth arouse the cupidity of an impoverished though triumphant Germany? Would not this democracy be the only obstacle between the autocratic rulers of Germany and their supreme ambition? Do you think that they would withhold their hand from so rich a prize?

Let me then ask you, would it be easier or wiser for this country singlehanded to resist a German Empire, flushed with victory and with great armies and navies at its command, than to unite with the brave enemies of that Empire in ending now and for all time this menace to our future?

Primarily then, every man who crosses the ocean to fight on foreign soil against the armies of the German Emperor, goes forth to fight for his country and for the preservation of those things for which our forefathers were willing to die. To those who thus offer themselves we owe the same debt that we owe to those men who

in the past fought on American soil in the cause of liberty. No, not the same debt, but a greater one. It calls for more patriotism, more self-denial, and a truer vision to wage war on distant shores than to repel an invader or defend one's home. I therefore congratulate you, young men, in your choice of service. You have done a splendid thing. You have earned already the gratitude of your countrymen and of generations of Americans to come. Your battle-flags will become the cherished trophies of a nation which will never forget those who bore them in the cause of liberty.

I know that some among you may consider the idea that Germany would attack us, if she won this war, to be improbable; but let him who doubts remember that the improbable, yes, the impossible, has been happening in this war from the beginning. If you had been told prior to August, 1914, that the German Government would disregard its solemn treaties and send its armies into Belgium, would wantonly burn Louvain, would murder defenseless people, would extort ransoms from conquered cities, would carry away men and women into slavery, would, like Vandals of old, destroy some of history's most cherished monuments, and would with malicious purpose lay waste the fairest fields of France and Belgium, you would have

indignantly denied the possibility. You would have exclaimed that Germans, lovers of art and learning, would never permit such foul deeds. To-day you know that the unbelievable has happened, that all these crimes have been committed, not under the impulse of passion but under official orders.

Again, if you had been told before the war that German submarine Commanders would sink peaceful vessels of commerce and send to sudden death men, women and little children, you would have declared such scientific brutality to be impossible. Or, if you had been told that German aviators would fly over thickly populated cities scattering missiles of death and destruction with no other purpose than to terrorize the innocent inhabitants, you would have denounced the very thought as unworthy of belief and as a calumny upon German honor. Yet, God help us, these things have come to pass, and iron crosses have rewarded the perpetrators.

But there is more, far more, which might be added to this record of unbelievable things which the German Government has done. I only need to mention the attempt of the Foreign Office at Berlin to bribe Mexico to make war upon us by promising her American territory. It was only one of many intrigues which the German Government was carrying on in many lands. Spies

and conspirators were sent throughout the world. Civil discord was encouraged to weaken the potential strength of nations which might be obstacles to the lust of Germany's rulers for world mastery. Those of German blood, who owed allegiance to other countries, were appealed to, to support the Fatherland, which beloved name masked the military clique at Berlin.

Some day I hope that the whole tale may be told. It will be an astounding tale indeed. But enough has been told so that there no longer remains the shadow of a doubt as to the character of Germany's rulers, of their amazing ambition for world empire, and of their intense hatred for democracy.

The day has gone by when we can measure possibilities by past experiences or when we believe that any physical obstacle is so great or any moral influence is so potent as to cause the German autocracy to abandon its mad purpose of world-conquest.

It was the policy of those who plotted and made ready for the time to accomplish the desire of the German rulers, to lull into false security the great nations which they intended to subdue. so that when the storm broke they would be unprepared. How well they succeeded you know. But democracy no longer sleeps. It is fully awake to the menace which threatens it,

The American people, trustful and friendly, were reluctant to believe that Imperialism again threatened the peace and liberty of the world. Conviction came to them at last and with it prompt action. The American nation arrayed itself with the other great democracies of the earth against the genius of evil which broods over the destinies of Central Europe.

No thought of material gain and no thought of material loss impelled this action. Inspired by the highest motives American manhood prepared to risk all for the right. I am proud of my country. I am proud of my countrymen. I am proud of our national character. With lofty purpose, with patriotic fervor, with intense earnestness the American democracy has drawn the sword, which it will not sheathe until the baneful forces of Absolutism go down defeated and broken.

Who can longer doubt — and there have been many who have doubted in these critical days — the power of that eternal spirit of freedom which lives in every true American heart?

My friends, I am firmly convinced that the independence of no nation is safe, that the liberty of no individual is sure, until the military despotism, which holds the German people in the hollow of its hand, has been made impotent and harmless forever. Appeals to justice, to

moral obligation, to honor, no longer avail with such a power. There is but one way to restore peace to the world and that is by overcoming the physical might of German Imperialism by force of arms.

For its own safety as well as for the cause of human liberty this great Republic is marshaling its armies and preparing with all its vigor to aid in ridding Germany, as well as the world, of the most ambitious and most unprincipled autocracy which has arisen to stay the wheels of progress and imperil Christian civilization.

It is to this great cause you, who are present here to-night, like thousands of other loyal Americans, have dedicated yourselves. Upon each one of you much depends. You are going forth into foreign lands, not only as guardians of the flag of your country and of the liberties of your countrymen, but as guardians of the national honor of the United States. American character will be judged by your conduct; American spirit, by your deeds. As you maintain yourselves courageously and honorably, so will you bring glory to the flag which we all love as the emblem of our national unity and independence.

I know that it is unnecessary to emphasize the responsibilities which will rest upon you as you lead the men under your command. To their

officers they will look for guidance and example, not only in the battle line, but in the camp and on the march. Your responsibilities are great. As you meet them so will your services be measured by your country.

It is in the toil and danger of so great an adventure as you are soon to experience that a man's true character will become manifest. He will be brought face to face with the realities. The little things which once engrossed his thought and called forth his energies will be forgotten in the stern events of his new life. The sternness of it all will not deprive him of the satisfaction which comes from doing his best. As he found gratification and joy in the peaceful pursuits of the old life, so will he find a deeper gratification and greater joy in serving his country loyally and doing his part in molding the future aright.

And, when your task is completed, when the grim days of battle are over, and you return once more to the quiet life of your profession or occupation, which you have so generously abandoned at your country's call, you will find in the gratitude of your countrymen an ample reward for the great sacrifice which you have made.

If enthusiasm and ardor can make success sure, then we, Americans, have no cause for

anxiety, no reason to doubt the outcome of the conflict. But enthusiasm and ardor are not all; they must be founded on a profound conviction of the righteousness of our cause and on an implicit faith that the God of Battles will strengthen the arm of him who fights for the right. In the time of stress and peril, when a man stands face to face with death in its most terrible forms, God will not desert him who puts his trust in Him. It is at such a time that the eternal verities will be disclosed. It is then, when you realize that existence is more than this life and that over our destinies watches an all-powerful and compassionate God, you will stand amidst the storm of battle unflinching and unafraid.

There is no higher praise that can be bestowed upon a soldier of the Republic than to say that he served his country faithfully and trusted in his God. Such I earnestly hope will be the praise to which each one of you will be entitled when peace returns to this suffering earth, and mankind rejoices that the world is made safe for democracy.

APPENDIX

THE

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

Which went into effect March 4, 1789.

WE, the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION 1. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SECTION 2. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one representative: and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three; Massachusetts, eight; Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, one; Connecticut, five; New York, six; New Jersey, four; Pennsylvania, eight; Delaware, one; Maryland, six; Virginia, ten; North Carolina, five; South Carolina, five; and Georgia, three.

When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECTION 3. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years; and each senator shall have one vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year; of the second class, at the expiration of the fourth year; of the third class, at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice-President of the United States shall be president of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a president *pro tempore*, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments: When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief-Justice shall preside: and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

SECTION 4. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION 5. Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each house may provide.

Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy, and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

SECTION 6. The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

SECTION 7. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve, he shall sign it, but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration, two-thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sunday excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION 8. The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

To establish post-offices and post-roads;

To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing, for limited times, to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations;

To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

To provide and maintain a navy;

To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions.

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings; — And

To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SECTION 9. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

No bill of attainder or ex-post-facto law shall be passed.

No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

No money shall be drawn from the treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

SECTION 10. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex-post-facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any impost or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships-of-war, in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II.

SECTION 1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected, as follows:

Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

[The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the Senate. The president of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such

majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said house shall, in like manner, choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice-President.]

The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years resident within the United States.

In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President; and such officer shall act accordingly until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation: — "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

SECTION 2. The President shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices; and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for,

and which shall be established by law: but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECTION 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECTION 4. The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

SECTION 1. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECTION 2. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; — to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls; — to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; — to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; — to controversies between two or more States; — between a State and citizens of another State; — between citizens of different States; — between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens or subjects.

In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SECTION 3. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort.

No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV.

SECTION 1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may, by general laws, prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION 2. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

SECTION 3. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SECTION 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V.

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI.

All debts contracted, and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the confederation.

This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

The ratification of the Conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in conventions, by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth.

In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names.

GEORGE WASHINGTON,
President, and Deputy from Virginia.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

JOHN LANGDON,
NICHOLAS GILMAN.

MASSACHUSETTS.

NATHANIEL GORHAM,
RUFUS KING.

CONNECTICUT.

WILLIAM SAMUEL JOHNSON,
ROGER SHERMAN.

NEW YORK.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

NEW JERSEY.

WILLIAM LIVINGSTON,
DAVID BREARLEY,
WILLIAM PATERSON,
JONATHAN DAYTON.

PENNSYLVANIA.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,
THOMAS MIFFLIN,
ROBERT MORRIS,
GEORGE CLYMER,
THOMAS FITZSIMONS,
JARED INGERSOLL,
JAMES WILSON,
GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

DELAWARE.

GEORGE READ,
GUNNING BEDFORD, JR.,
JOHN DICKINSON,
RICHARD BASSETT,
JACOB BROOM.

MARYLAND

JAMES M'HENRY,
DANIEL OF ST. THOMAS JENIFER,
DANIEL CARROLL.

VIRGINIA.

JOHN BLAIR,
JAMES MADISON, JR.

NORTH CAROLINA.

WILLIAM BLOUNT,
RICHARD DOBBS SPAIGHT,
HUGH WILLIAMSON.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

JOHN RUTLEDGE,
CHARLES C. PINCKNEY,
CHARLES PINCKNEY,
PIERCE BUTLER.

GEORGIA.

WILLIAM FEW,
ABRAHAM BALDWIN.

Attest: WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary.*

AMENDMENTS

TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES, RATIFIED ACCORDING TO THE PROVISIONS OF THE FIFTH ARTICLE OF THE FOREGOING CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I. — Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II. — A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III. — No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner; nor in time of war but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV. — The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V. — No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war and public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor to be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI. — In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

ARTICLE VII. — In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States than according to the rules of common law.

ARTICLE VIII. — Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX. — The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X. — The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI. — The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or

prosecuted against any of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

ARTICLE XII. — The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant with the same State with themselves, they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the persons voted for as Vice-President; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the Senate; — the president of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; — the person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII. — *Section* 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV. — *Section* 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Section 2. Representatives shall be appointed among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number

of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive or judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

Section 3. No person shall be a senator or representative in Congress, or elector of President or Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each house, remove such disability.

Section 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

Section 5. Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XV. — *Section* 1. The rights of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XVI. — The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

ARTICLE XVII. — *Section* 1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislatures.

Section 2. When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: Provided, That the Legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointment until the people fill the vacancies by election as the Legislature may direct.

Section 3. This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

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